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"PEARLS BEFORE SWINE:" SECRECY IN A MORMON POLYGYNOUS COLONY

BY

MARLA PETERS ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF ARTS**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1994

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "PEARLS BEFORE SWINE": SECRECY IN A MORMON POLYGYNOUS COLONY, submitted by MARLA PETERS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

Supervisor: Dr. Michael Gillespie

Committee Member: Dr. Judith Golec

External Committee Member: Dr. Pat Rafferty

October 3, 1994

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to

Opa,

who taught me that life is not what it seems,

to

Lyle,

a master of secrecy,

and to

the concealers and revealers of Thummim,

where mortal gods court multiple mysteries

ABSTRACT

"Pearls Before Swine:" Secrecy in a Mormon Polygynous Colony

Secrecy is a salient methodological and theoretical problem in this study of a Mormon Fundamentalist, i.e., polygynous, colony in rural Canada. Participant observation in the colony and interviews with ex-members and outsiders comprise the bulk of the data. Various explanations are offered for the events and cryptic sermons that appear to target the researcher. The saying, "don't cast your pearls before swine," emerged during the fieldwork as a metaphor for secrecy. This metaphor implies the perception of threat to something highly valued. Indeed, it seems that leaders cultivate both external and internal threats to their sacralized sexuality system. Future research should explore power's cultivation of secrecy and its own methods of concealing and selectively revealing.

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Dr. Rafferty's fresh insight provided the much-needed Schutzian link. She is responsible for some of my analytical rethinking.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose

Secrecy, the strategic art of concealment, is the thesis of this study on a Mormon Fundamentalist colony. In particular, this study aims to understand how members' everyday practices collectively create and maintain a secret society. The thesis title emerged in my fieldwork in the colony and originates in the Biblical phrase, "cast not your pearls before swine." According to the phrase, divinity (Jesus and Joseph Smith) mandates the discretionary withholding, or secret-keeping, of something treasured ("pearls") from potential threats or desecrators ("swine"). Such metaphorical "pearls" and "swine" are relative to the social groups in which they appear. Keeping one's pearls from swine, or rather, secrecy, is "one of humanity's "greatest accomplishments," according to Simmel (1906: 462-3), a forefather of secrecy theory.

A "universal sociological form," secrecy is equally capable of expressing the highest and vilest values (Simmel (1906: 462-3). Despite secrecy's indifference to values, however, it protects individuals who are stigmatized (Sutherland, 1975), or whose practices are deemed illegal (Adler and Adler, 1980) or immoral (Warren, 1976). Given our Judeo-Christian heritage of denigrating sex, secrecy particularly magnetizes sexuality--especially its "deviant" forms (George and Murcott, 1992; Humphreys, 1970; Karp,

1973).

Why Mormon Fundamentalists?

Epitomizing "deviant" sexuality--and offending the dominant culture's "monogamous" sensibilities--are the stigmatized "Mormon Fundamentalists" who condone and practise polygamy. Despite a 150-year legacy of persecution for their illegal and allegedly immoral practices, the Fundamentalists--who themselves seem preoccupied with a Judeo-Christian version of sexual morality--continue to exalt their "deviant" version of sexuality. Fundamentalists' need for concealment suggests that the societies that they have formed ought to be ideal ground for secrecy research. Indeed, Shils (1956: 81, 90; see also Simmel, 1950) roots American secrecy partly in religious fundamentalism, xenophobia, and isolationism--the same features observed in Mormon polygamous societies.

Why Secrecy?

The Emergence of a *Methodological* or *Theoretical* Problem?

Secrecy was *not* my focus when I started my participant observation at the remote ranch I will call "Thummim," a 400-member Mormon Fundamentalist colony in Canada. Instead, I was interested in the Mormon Fundamentalists themselves, about whom there are no Canadian and few good studies. But methodological problems rendered futile my initial theoretical attempts. My participant observation seemed thwarted. Plus, the data that I did obtain was either

contradictory or superficial--such as one member's blanket statements about how "wonderful" everything was in Thummim. These "methodological" problems hindered an in-depth understanding of members' world views, so I interviewed ex-members. Yet as if informed by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy, ex-member informants unanimously alleged that members "play-acted" and performed "fantas[ies]" for outsiders while hiding the reality.[1] After I had done considerable participant observation, for example, ex-member Randy counselled me:

> You've got to experience it to realize it. But what you're seein's a blow job. Just a big old whoo! *They put on the damndest show you ever saw.* And they probably have their meetings--*if there's anything they want to say, they're gonna have their meetings separate. If they wanna tell the people a certain thing, they'll go, they'll have an entirely different set of circumstances.* Maybe even an hour after you left (interview 13-12-92: 599-606).

Such counsel exacerbated my doubts about my own observations. Thus secrecy threatened methodological death even before the study's true conception. Ironically,

---

[1] Goffman (1959) conceives of social interaction as drama. Thus an individual or several like-minded individuals comprise a performing "team" that fosters a desired impression for an "audience" from whom it keeps its "backstage secrets." Revelation of such secrets would destroy the image the team attempts to foster. Every performing team is simultaneously an audience, responding to and thus influencing the other dramatic team for which it performs. This "dramatic interaction" between two performing teams is apparent in Mormon polygamists' historical and current interaction with their accusers.

however, this debilitating "methodological" problem of secrecy empowered its parallel "theoretical" problem.

A Preview of the Fieldwork

Like other researchers in secrecy-salient situations I could not comprehend the "larger" secrecy of which the methodological problems were a minor manifestation. Theoretically blinded by methodological obstructions, my own nescience proved secrecy's success in keeping its recipients "in the dark"--the words an ex-member used to describe her experience in the group. My struggle for the most mundane and contextually specific of meanings--a prerequisite for "sociological" understandings--rendered useless sophisticated theories about secrecy (e.g., Goffman, 1959; Simmel, 1950; Wilsnack, 1980). I was Schutz's (1970: 87) "stranger in the community," ignorant of its members' taken-for-granted life patterns and meanings.

Members' mundane meanings seemed hidden via the contradictions and seeming vacuousness of members' actions, the amorphous ambiguities that saturated my fieldwork. During my initial fieldwork, for example, Thummim's leader, "Adam," advised me to befriend the community women. In his next breath, however, he "indicated that I might not want to become that involved" (fieldnotes 05-06-92: 2), and the women themselves acted distant with me. Adam's first wife, "Eve," accompanied me and invited me to work and visit. Although not avoiding me as did her sister-wives, Eve "did

not talk much," "rarely volunteered information," was "very quiet and seemed guarded." All this in addition to her stoic appearance rendered her "hard to read" (fieldnotes 07-06-92: 4, 09-06-92: 1).

I quickly learned that a person's veiled emotion, general passivity, and concealments can be blank slates upon which interpreters unconsciously might draw their biases. I discovered this upon comparing observations with my sister "Christine" who accompanied me during my first day in Thummim. Concerning some of the women, Christine's "trying-to-hide-but-unable-to-hide-their-unhappiness" thesis' contrasted my "they-are-merely-nervous-in-the-presence-of-outsiders-like-us" thesis. Concerning a musical performance, an audience was "bored" to Christine, "mesmerized" to me.[2] Such contradictory interpretations seemed related to our own preconceptions or intentions.

To the "stranger," then, Thummim seemed impregnated with incomprehensibility, even rendering mysterious a Sunday dinner Christine and I attended with Adam's family. My fieldnotes record:

> Adam offered a table blessing. No one dug in right away.... People sat and didn't do much. Finally a

---

[2]My preconceived desire to validate the happy "local consciousness" of otherwise oppressed women, my concern about the study, and my gratefulness for entry, coloured my interpretations. Likewise, Christine's interpersonal sensitivity and her observations of patriarchal power ("they have no dishwasher but $150,000 trucks") coloured hers.

> couple of people took salad.... No one took chicken for a long time. No one said, "dig in!" (fieldnotes 07-06-92: 5).

The barrenness of members' actions and their silences contrasted the potency of Adam's. The indisputable centre of attention, Adam's actions and words were expressions of a salient but paradoxically hidden power that controlled the community's crucial secrets. This power seemingly impelled obstructions to my fieldwork, playing what I concluded were "mind games" with me (fieldnotes 18-12-92: 20). The power fostered in everyone--including me--what Simmel (1950: 349) calls "the art of silence" (see fieldnotes 09-06-92: 2).

Much of the crucial data, therefore, comprise what I *did not* see, hear, or attend, as well as members' nescience and inadvertent revelations that frequently were responses to me. "I always have to fish, to push, and then to back off and watch," I recorded (fieldnotes 09-06-92: 1), as if this was an experiment. Indeed, through my inadvertent, albeit "uncontrolled-and-out-of-control experiments," my trials and errors taught me the central ingredients in what Schutz (1970: 81) calls "recipes" (i.e., typified actions and expressions that "work" in a given society). These central ingredients comprised what *not* to say and do in Thummim.

Trials-and-errors--including "ritualistic humiliation[s]" (Lyman, 1964: 88) comprise loyalty tests for neophytes entering secret societies (Gist, 1936: 501;

Simmel, 1950). But like others who have entered secretive groups (e.g., Cannon, 1990; Driggs, 1991; Festinger, 1956; Merson, 1967), I overlooked the *theoretical* significance that I was a *neophyte in a secret society*. Nor did I know I was being "tested" until increased experience facilitated recognition of mortification patterns that possibly communicated my failure. Unlike other secret societies (e.g., fraternal organizations) that channel their neophytes along definite paths by which they must undergo oaths, symbolic journeys, and rituals (Gist, 1936), Thummim's neophyte path was vaguely undefined, its destination secret (at least to the neophyte).

If, as Simmel (1906: 491-2) says, the secret society claims "absolute sovereignty" over its members, then members would construct the neophyte in terms of their "central myth," which constitutes a society's overriding knowledge and secrets about their identity (Schutz, 1970: 85). No matter how irrational, or disconfirmed such "myths" or constructions may seem to the outsider--whether it is believing in flying saucers (Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter, 1956) or thinking one's severely mentally handicapped child is extremely intelligent (Pollner and Wikler, 1985)--they make sense to the insider acting from within a particular meaning system. From the insider's perspective, the outsider who does not share the same relevance schemes does not see the true reality and

therefore it may be necessary to protect secrets from such outsiders.

Because the neophyte is part outsider and potential insider (Gist, 1938: 355), s/he is uniquely positioned to experience *external* secrecy (i.e., secrecy with outsiders). Perhaps more importantly, the neophyte is also absorbed into the society's system of *internal secrecy* (i.e., secrets that insiders keep from each other). Theoretical work tends to overlook this internal secrecy, and therefore exaggerates the solidarity and homogeneity of secret society members (Goffman, 1959; Lyman, 1964; Simmel, 1950). Yet the hierarchy that scholars deem essential for secret societies implies internal secrets (Simmel, 1950). Indeed, Brandt (1980)--who coined the term, "internal secrecy"--found that pueblo leaders kept knowledge of the outside world from their subordinates. This internal secrecy, she says, was a "conscious political strategy" to maintain the leaders' power.

The literature's general negligence of internal secrecy is partly due to the difficulty and rarity of penetrating secret societies (Festinger, 1956; Lyman, 1964: 99; Marx, 1975: 403). Internal secrets, moreover, pose an investigative challenge because they might be cloaked in the difficult-to-interpret allegory, symbolism (Gist, 1936; Lyman, 1964: 83), and cryptic communication (e.g., Brandt, 1980: 129; Hawthorn, 1956: 5) characteristic of secret

societies. This thesis offers interpretations for members' cryptic messages while chronicling the journey of a (researcher) neophyte into the realms of external and internal secrecy. Ironically she influences the very phenomenon she is investigating.

Methodology and Ethics

The data

Working from within secrecy requires laborious "detective work," as Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter (1956: 252) did in their study of a secretive flying saucer group and as other students of secretive movements have had to do (e.g., Marx, 1975: 404; Vander Zanden, 1960: 458).[3] After initial problems, therefore, I triangulated my methods. Thus I used both fieldnotes from my participant observation in Thummim, and verbatim transcripts from tape-recorded interviews with 10-17 ex-members and a neighbour. Primary, secondary, and other documents supplement this collected data. Briefly, it should be emphasized that all names of informants, members, and characters (e.g., my sister) are pseudonyms. Furthermore, in order to prevent identification of the group under study, the thesis substitutes pseudonyms for the place names, "Thummim," and "Timber," and for sources such as newspapers and legal

---

[3] Sociology has neglected secrecy somewhat (Marx 1975: 403). Empirical work is also lacking so that, as Lyman (1964: 79) points out with regard to Chinese secret societies, "misguided" researchers help Chinese secret societies remain secret.

documents that directly inculpate these places. For further discussion of method, see Appendix B.

Writing style

A note on style is necessary since my writing might offend those readers of qualitative research who are used to plainly written studies. My writing is inspired by the "new journalism" of Tom Wolfe, Annie Dillard, and Joan Didion. Such "journalism" uses the techniques of fiction, including metaphors and other literary devices. These devices can convey deeper truths than meet the eye. Words like "cloud" and "blizzard," for example, evoke images that vividly convey truths about the ambiguity, confusion, and madness of secrecy. In addition to literary devices, my reconstruction relies on fieldnote and interview excerpts and aims for a true-to-life, if sometimes impressionistic, portrayal of Thummim in its fuller context. This portrayal also might offend the "anthro-etiquette" sensibilities of some researchers who overlook negative incidences--and thus important data--in favour of deceptively idyllic accounts.

The current portrayal, of course, is reconstructed from my perspective as an *embodied researcher*. I make no pretensions of knowing the perspective of those studied, except through my embodied data collection. Nor do I feign the objective omniscience that characterizes many qualitative studies. Such studies frequently conceal the relationship between theoretical discovery and the method

thereof, thus presenting the researcher as disembodied, emotionless and seemingly "objective." I reject such pseudo-science, appreciating that my concrete embodiment, torn emotions, and "virtuous subjectivity" (Peshkin, 1985) help me see certain things and not others. I hope that my documentation of the way I "see" and of all my sources facilitates the reader's assessment of my thesis.

The Researcher's Standpoint

Because it matters, my standpoint is as follows. I had no ulterior motive to study Thummim. I was merely interested in the colony near which I grew up but knew little. Although not Mormon, I nevertheless honour Fundamentalists' depth of faith, sympathize with their hardships, and believe that polygamy (including polyandry) has important social advantages over monogamy (not necessarily the ones to which believers ascribe). I support polygamy's legalization even though its polygynous form mutually reinforces patriarchal power. Patriarchally submissive people both frustrate and challenge my ability to empathize. My strong sense of social justice, moreover, renders neutrality virtually impossible when power is distributed inequitably and seems exploitative. Despite, therefore, my fieldwork attempts to appear "neutral," I found myself inwardly defying the leaders' power.

Organization of the Study

Having previewed the fieldwork and delineated the

study's purpose and methodology, I briefly outline this six-chapter, three-appendix thesis. Following this introduction, the second chapter reviews the history of, and ideological justification for, Mormon polygamy. Detailing secrecy's embeddedness in Mormon polygamy from its very inception, this history conveys the role of persecution (external threat) in fostering secrecy, insinuates secrecy amongst members themselves (internal secrecy), documents believers' concern about sexuality (in sex's broadest sense), and hints at power's role in such secrecy. The chapter also examines material pertaining to Fundamentalists.

Chapter 3 triangulates various sources in order to reconstruct Thummim's context. The chapter reveals secrecy's ubiquity in members' everyday practices with both outsiders and insiders, especially--but not only--as it pertains to threats to the Priesthood's version of sexuality. This chapter comprises essential background information for the fieldwork chapters (4 and 5).

Chapter 4 chronicles my first fieldwork phase (June, 1992), during which the study seemed plagued with the methodological difficulties of entering the field, gaining trust, accessing credible data, managing ambiguity, interpreting cryptic messages, and dealing with contradictions. The chapter also documents my eventual "discovery" of secrecy as a theoretical focus. Separated by time and focus from chapter 4, chapter 5 (Fall/Winter, 1992)

continues to chronicle my fieldwork difficulties and offers "low-level" interpretations for various events. By the end of chapter 5, identifiable patterns emerge as does the metaphor, "pearls before swine."

Chapter 6 features the "pearls before swine" metaphor which facilitates analysis. The chapter also offers alternative explanations to the secrecy thesis and concludes with suggestions for future research. Appendix A refers to quick references (e.g., definitions of terms, frequently used abbreviations, etc.). Appendix B details my methodology, and Appendix C offers a Table I had started working on but which is not central to the analysis.

Chapter 2: History of Plural Marriage

Joseph Smith's Law of Celestial Marriage

Mormon polygamy embraced secrecy from the start. Mormonism's creator and first "prophet," Joseph Smith, Jr., conceived of and practised polygamy (or, at least initially, adultery,) in secret. Both Smith's wife, Emma, and his puritanical followers increasingly suspected Smith of sexual deviance. He, however, frequently denounced polygamy in public. Yet sometimes he justified it as an ancient practice to be restored in the future (Foster, 1981: 148; Van Wagoner, 1992: 76-78).

Several Saints had intimate knowledge of Smith's affairs before he received his purported "revelation" on "celestial marriage"[4] in 1843 (Van Wagoner, 1992: 33, 86, see 4-94). In part, the revelation stated that:

> [I]f any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent, and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery for they are given unto him.... And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him... (D&C 132: 61-2).

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[4]Mormons came to understand "celestial marriage" as "the principle," "plural marriage," and "patriarchal marriage." In practice, celestial marriage was polygyny--with an uncommon form of polyandry (discussed in this paper). Before Smith conveyed his polygyny doctrine, however, "celestial marriage" merely referred to monogamous, eternal marriages (which the LDS Church currently deems it to mean).

Smith conveyed the revelation privately, to Emma (who burned it), and to select Church leaders (Van Wagoner, 1992: 89, 95).

Rumours about this sexually shocking revelation focused and intensified existing persecution of the Saints. Such rumours also divided the Saints themselves, most of whom believed Smith's previous denunciations (Van Wagoner, 1992: 95).[5] Nevertheless, some disillusioned followers threatened to publicize Smith's sexual misconduct. After one such threat, Smith, as Mayor of Nauvoo, Illinois, ordered the destruction of a local printing press, inciting furore amongst non-Mormons. While Smith was in jail awaiting trial for this alleged "outrage upon the laws and the liberties of this people," a huge mob stormed the jail and shot him dead. This 1844 "martyrdom" foreshadowed the persecution that

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[5] Emma Smith never did "give her consent" and constantly repudiated rumours about Joseph's affairs/polygyny. Although some scholars and/or Mormons claim that Smith received the revelation as early as 1831--thus justifying Joseph's earliest sexual affairs--the revelation is contemporary to 1843, intended specifically to convince Emma that Joseph should take another wife (Van Wagoner, 1992: 86. See *D&C* 132 in thesis appendix). The revelation failed to convince Emma, and after Joseph's death she supported their eldest son, Joseph III, who became the first president of the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (RLDS). The RLDS denied the polygamy rumours altogether, claiming that Brigham Young introduced the false doctrine (Van Wagoner, 1992: 31, 112-13. Pertaining to Emma, see Van Wagoner, 1992: 31-32, 53, 78-82, 87-92. See Shields, 1982: 65-74, about the RLDS, and McCrue, 1989, about its presence in British Columbia, Canada). Ironically, the RLDS in 1972 received a revelation to accept polygamists into their Church (RLDS D&C 150: 10-12. Cited in Kraut, 1989: 10).

those who eventually accepted Smith's revelation would endure (Van Wagoner, 1992: 100-7). (For an overview of dates and terminology, please refer to appendix A of the thesis.)

Polygynous Kingdom and Ideology

It took the foresight of Smith's successor, Brigham Young, to entice the Mormon masses to accept the polygamy that many Saints previously had deemed immoral. Young organized the Saints on a mass exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the remote Rocky Mountain region of the United States, where he carved out an openly polygamous Kingdom. Theocracy was the political, the "United Order" (a communal-economic plan)[6] the economic, and "celestial," "plural marriage" (i.e., polygyny) the social plan for this Kingdom.

Polygyny became a distinctly Mormon institution because Smith had conveyed it was essential for eternal exaltation in which members realize their Godhood--their natural progression to exaltation. Brigham Young perpetuated Smith's theology, saying, "The only men who become Gods... are those who enter into polygamy" (*JD* 11: 268)," and that those who do not practise polygamy "will be damned" (*JD* 3:264-6).

For a full fifty years polygyny and Mormonism seemed synonymous even though an elite few (perhaps 10% of men)[7]

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[6] See Sorenson, 1977, for a description of the United Order.

[7] According to data on 722 men from two Utah counties, 12.6% of men were polygynous (Ivins, 1967: 311). In the Mexican colonies, 63% of men were polygynous (Nelson, 1983: 57), indicating the geographical variance. Ten percent

practised it, not always willingly. Of these, most had two or three wives in contrast to the alleged harems of their leaders (Hulett, 1939: 16, 19; Ivins, 1967: 313-4). As leaders taught that the Principle of plural marriage would damn more men than it would save, they reserved it for spiritually worthy men with high-ranking positions in the Priesthood. The Priesthood was the spiritual hierarchy of legitimate governors--the "masculine glue" (Johnson, 1981: 95) that united God to men and justified patriarchal headship over families.[8]

The Principle provided all women the opportunity to marry "superior" men (i.e., polygynist, potential Gods) and to realize their maternal "rights." To "multiply and replenish" was the Saints' mortal obligation so that they could provide righteous, "mortal tabernacles" (i.e., bodies) for the "intelligences" (i.e., spirit children) that the polygynous God and his heavenly queens procreated in the

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appears to be a general estimate (Arrington, 1958: 238). Logue's (1984) triangulated data, however, suggests that almost 40 percent of households in rural Saint George were polygynous. Logue documents the difficulty of determining polygamy estimates, a difficulty that suggests other studies may have underestimated its prevalence (Logue, 1984: 9). Other studies indicate that from 10% to 67% of households practised polygamy, depending on the area. See Van Wagoner, 1992: 137, for several of these studies; see also Smith and Kunz, 1976: 41.

[8] See Faux, 1983, and Faux and Miller, 1984, for provocative socio-biological implications of Priesthood polygyny.

heavenly realms.[9] God and His queens would reign forever, having been married "for eternity" while in the mortal state. In their daily lives, therefore, the Saints emulated these heavenly, anthropomorphized beings with whom they perceived an intimate connection (see Foster, 1981: 144-45).

Polyandry

This intimacy between mortality and immortality rendered a form of polyandry acceptable, as both Smith and Young failed to acknowledge the "Gentile," i.e., civil, marriages of some women. Frequently they proposed to or secretly married these women. Polyandrous proposals to married women or asking men for their wives were sometimes "tests" of an individual's faith in the Prophet or of a woman's loyalty to her husband (See Foster, 1981: 159-66; Van Wagoner, 1992: 62-75). At other times, however, they were serious proposals. Van Wagoner states:

> There is considerable evidence, during the early years of plural marriage, that more than a few Mormon women had two husbands simultaneously. These bigamous or polyandrous relationships were complicated by the fact that the legal husband did not usually know about the extralegal husband. In addition, the Church recognized the nonlegal husband as the valid mate (Van Wagoner, 1985: 81).

As a woman's salvation depended on her marriage sealing to a

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[9] Church leaders discouraged worship of these heavenly queens (Wilcox, 1980), which is why they are not capitalized. These queens functioned conservatively to reinforce women's preoccupation with traditional roles (Heeren, Lindsey, and Mason, 1984).

worthy man (who could call her up in the next life to reign with him in glory), it was "right in the sight of God" if she left her husband for a man with greater authority (Faux, 1983: 39; Van Wagoner, 1985: 80; Foster, 1981: 159-66, 211-6).

Dead or alive, a Priesthood man could have women who were already married to another "for time" sealed to him "for eternity." If dead, then a proxy sealing was necessary (Van Wagoner, 1992, pp. 62-75). Proxy marriages "for time" also occurred, albeit rarely. Proxies "for time" permitted a man, i.e., particularly Joseph Smith, to assume the husbandly duties for a woman whose husband "for eternity" was temporarily absent (Foster, 1981: 62-3). Polyandry, however, for any other reason than its link to polygyny (i.e., superior men) was strictly forbidden, being considered sexually unnatural (See JD 18: 55-56, 21: 295).

Persecution and the Underground

Church leaders' public announcement of polygamy in 1852--when it was not illegal--signalled a new reign of persecution (see Van Wagoner, 1992: 123-33). Both "apostates" (ex-Mormons) and "Gentiles" (non-Mormons) accused the Saints of sexual abominations, e.g., adultery and polygamy. They utilized the press to magnify the threat of polygamy to American society and popular fiction to depict graphically its excesses (see Arrington and Haupt, 1968; Cannon, 1974). In response, the Saints zealously

defended the sexual purity and superiority of their polygamy that they claimed suited the sexual natures of women and men. While ignoring the actual practice, they reiterated their leaders' arguments that it produces superior offspring and solves the "problems" of adultery, spinsterhood, prostitution, and divorce.[10]

To "Gentiles," these "problems" were insignificant compared to "the Mormon problem." The Whigs' (U.S. republicans') 1856 campaign, for example, publicized polygamy as a "twin relic of barbarism" next to slavery (Van Wagoner, 1992: 158). For the next thirty years the Saints endured a series of government Acts to illegalize polygamy and to force Mormon compliance to increasingly inhumane laws. New laws against cohabitation, for example, rendered it unnecessary to provide evidence of the difficult-to-prove polygamy. The courts encouraged family members to testify against each other and withheld certain legal rights from known polygamists.[11]

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[10]See Whittaker, 1984, for these and more defenses. For an interesting primary source, see Campbell's 1882 open letter to Members of Congress in which he defended plural marriage.

[11] The 1862 Morrill Anti-bigamy Act, the 1870 Cullom Bill, the 1874 Poland Law, and the 1879 decision that polygamy was unconstitutional laid the legal ground work to eradicate polygamy. Then the 1883 Edmunds and 1886 Edmunds-Tucker Acts had the cumulative effect of: disenfranchising polygynists, abolishing female suffrage, permitting force against women to testify against their husbands, rendering felonies the marriages not publicly recorded, disinheriting polygynists' offspring, and prohibiting polygynists from jury duty and political offices. The Edmunds-Tucker Act also

These laws increasingly drove polygynists "underground" to evade detection. Several polygynists moved constantly, and had secret codes and places for exile. The "underground" also drew children of polygynists into a serious and frightening game of "hide and seek" lest they betray the plural identities of their parents (Bradley, 1983). Whole families and communities co-ordinated members to play this hiding game, using strategies to deceive, avoid, evade, and distract investigators. Investigators then had to resort to more sophisticated espionage to convict polygynists, and more severe laws to force compliance.

"Persecution" is the inevitable heritage of the righteous, the Saints believed. Thus convicted polygynists were "prisoners for conscience sake" and "martyrs for the Principle." Throughout Mormon history, persecution increased polygamous behaviours and defenses (Ivins, 1967: 312), and intensified group cohesion. Nevertheless, the 1886 Edmunds-Tucker Act forced the Church into a stalemate position by threatening its very economic, political, and legal survival as long as it supported polygamy. Thus stalemated, Church leaders seriously considered renouncing the practice, albeit not the doctrine, of celestial marriage (i.e., the Principle, or plural marriage).

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threatened to cripple the Saints' theocratic, financial empire by dissolving the Church's legal status and confiscating Church property (See Driggs, 1988, and Van Wagoner, 1992: 158-215).

The 1890 Woodruff and 1904 Smith Manifestos

The year 1890 foreshadowed the Principle's death. Wilford Woodruff was Prophet-President of the Church when he issued the 1890 manifesto. The manifesto claimed that the Church would abide by the United States' anti-polygamy laws. It was not a revelation, however, and was ambiguous about the status of existing polygamous unions. Many Church leaders, including Woodruff, contributed to this ambiguity by publicly condemning but privately encouraging plural marriage, effecting "official doubletalk" to protect their private lives (Van Wagoner, 1992: 239). Several polygynists, with Church sanction, secretly remained with plural wives, took new wives, and impregnated plural wives (Cannon, 1978: 31; Cannon, 1983: 29; Ivins, 1981; Van Wagoner, 1992: 235-7).

The secrecy was not only with Gentiles but also amongst the Mormons themselves. Sometimes different authorities conveyed contradictory messages about plural marriage to the same subordinate; sometimes the same authority conveyed contradictory messages. This confusion apparently affected members of the higher levels of the Priesthood hierarchy more than those of the lower levels who may have been ignorant of behind-the-scenes talk (Van Wagoner, 1992: 238). The insider secrecy surrounding plural marriages after the 1890 manifesto rendered the younger, monogamous, generations of Mormons in Canada ignorant of polygamy in southern

Alberta (Embry, 1985: 115-16). Such ignorance was expedient in setting the stage for the Church's subsequent downplaying of polygamy.

Ivins regards the 1890 manifesto as feeding the Church's existing "obsession" for secrecy, rendering deception a "virtue" (Ivins, 1981: 5). Deception was to protect, not only plural marriage, but also the Church's image. Several Mormons believed, for example, that the manifesto was for appearances only. Secrecy was imperative until the territory of Utah gained statehood, after which some Mormons anticipated the reinstatement of open polygyny. In spite of the Utah constitution's clause that polygamy was prohibited "forever," Utah's state status in 1896 served to revive the slowly dying institution (Van Wagoner, 1992: 188-200, 236-7).

By taking a firmer anti-polygamy stand, the Church in 1904 responded to accusations that it was going back on its promises to abandon polygamy. It issued a purportedly revelatory manifesto and then actively excommunicated polygynists, some of whom considered the 1904 manifesto as another protective 'bluff' like the first manifesto to produce an appearance of law-abiding Saints (See Van Wagoner, 1986: 173-5, 183, 262; 1992: 273). Church leaders by this time had established foreign outposts for plural marriage in both Mexico where polygyny could afford visibility, and Canada where it had to remain invisible

(See Cannon, 1978: 31; Driggs, 1991: 45; Ivins, 1981: 5; Shipps, 1984: 74-5; Van Wagoner, 1992: 231-46).

Secret Polygyny in Canada

Hoping that Canada's "British Flag" would protect the Saints' unusual religious-sexual practices, Church Prophet-President John Taylor had encouraged Charles O. Card to establish a Mormon (and thus polygynous) mission in Canada. By July, 1887, fifteen polygynists and one monogamist were at Lees Creek (near present-day Cardston) in southern Alberta. More were on their way (Wilcox, 1950: 62-3). Mormon delegates in 1888 petitioned the Canadian government, not to legalize polygamy, but merely to accept existing plural families (Lee, 1968: 17). Canada firmly refused and the press alarmed the public about Mormon polygamy, thus reinforcing the Saints' secrecy. (Embry, 1985: 110; Lee, 1968: 17; Tagg, 1963: 146-56; White, 1978: 172).

Although Wilcox emphatically denies that Mormons practised plural marriage in Alberta (Wilcox, 1950: 10) and Tagg relates Charles O. Card's official denial (Tagg, 1963: 148-50), Embry (1985) documents its underground existence. At secret Priesthood meetings held at night, high ranking leaders, including Card, encouraged Priesthood men to practise plural marriage.[12] Even after the manifesto of

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[12] Card earned the title, "Canada's Brigham Young," for his successful colonizing efforts in southern Alberta (Godfrey, 1988), but the title apparently also suited his enthusiasm for plural marriage.

1890--incidentally the year that Canada prohibited polygamy (Tagg, 1963: 150)--John Taylor (and others) further encouraged the Principle (Embry, 1985: 111). Several men married post-manifesto plural wives in Canada. Embry states that most polygynists (i.e., Church leaders) "technically" obeyed the law by living with only one wife in Canada. Other wives resided in the States, or, in some cases, other Canadian communities (Embry, 1985: 112, 114).

If plural families settled together in Canada, then they probably concealed their polygamy. According to a letter that a North West Mounted Police (NWMP) Corporal wrote to his superior in 1899, for example, one wife of a suspected polygynist pretended that she was a relative. This letter suggests that plural families' effective strategies for secrecy sharpened police techniques. Police had to resort to informants, for example, and various methods to trick suspects into revealing their polygamous identities (see Bolderson, 1899).

Police control of polygamy seemed doomed to fail. In one of a series of letters reporting evidence of polygamy, Corporal Bolderson warned his commanding officer in McLeod, Alberta:

> These people are up to all kinds of dodges for shielding polygamy which necessity taught them in the U.S.A. and if it gets a footing in Canada will be very hard to stamp out [sic] perhaps next to impossible

(Bolderson, 1899).

Polygamy had a Church-sanctioned, albeit hidden "footing" already in Alberta, embodied in high ranking Priesthood men who likely would have perpetuated an underground polygamy if the Church had not enforced its renunciation of polygamy in 1904.

Although polygamy could die out with these men, and although the Church could start preaching monogamy, the Church's earlier, irrevocable doctrines conveyed a burning passion for celestial marriage. Thus, no matter how hard the law--and even the Church--would try, they would prove ineffective at extinguishing the Principle's last fiery remnants or preventing its rekindling at any time. In fact, Mormons' (and the law's) subsequent "persecution" of polygynists (i.e., "Fundamentalists") would have the same effect as throwing gasoline on a fire--just as it had a similar effect on them when they preached plural marriage.

From Alienation to Conformity

The Saints' gradual abandonment of the peculiar institutions of polygamy (Shipps, 1984:69), and with it, theocracy and the United Order, necessitated a radical change from a literalist to a "mystical" theology that divorced the material/spiritual and action/belief realms (White, 1978: 173-4), severing the intimate connection between Gods and mortals. This "mystical" thinking facilitated their accommodation to the monogamy-loving

nation-state by redirecting Mormon energies into conformist, rather than alienative, i.e., isolationist and polygynous, behaviours (see White, 1978). Correspondingly, the more socially acceptable monogamous family imagery supplanted polygynous Kingdom imagery as the new, post-manifesto focus (Palmer, 1982), thus visually representing theocracy's demise and Mormonism's Americanization. These radical, albeit somewhat gradual changes--from alienation to accommodation, from polygamy to monogamy--pose(d) a theological challenge to Mormons.

The "Fundamentalist" Mormons

Several Mormons thought the Church, by issuing the manifesto, was permitting Mormonism's roots to be dug up and replaced with a more "popular" specimen. Brigham Young used to proclaim that God's law was higher than man's law. Now some believers thought that God's law was acquiescing to man's in order to avoid persecution and gain worldly affirmation. Sceptics deemed the Church's capitulation to the State as "a compromising act for the temporal salvation of the Church--but a sacrifice in its spiritual salvation" (Kraut, 1989: 24).[13] Another critic sermonized, "the Church is democratic; Priesthood is theocratic. The Church can vote to accept or reject any principles ... but Priesthood is

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[13] For a Mormon perspective on the manifesto, see Thomasson, 1971.

bound to obey all laws"--God's laws, at least (Blackmore, 1974: 56). These critics voiced the opinions of "Fundamentalist Mormons" who protested the Church's "adaptation" to the world (Day, 1963). Lamenting the Church's abandonment of plural marriage in particular, but also of the United Order and various beliefs,[14] Fundamentalists claimed the Church has lost its Priesthood.

Origins: John Taylor and the 1886 Secret Meeting

Most Fundamentalists derive their Priesthood authority from John Taylor, who had spent much of his life underground to avoid persecution, and had encouraged polygynists to move to Canada. Fundamentalists claim that in 1886 while still Prophet-President of the Church, Taylor had a revelation that the Principle would not be overcome. By then there had been talk about abandoning polygamy, as the Church needed time to deconvert from plural marriage (Shipps, 1984: 76).

In 1886 at an underground meeting--that Joseph W. Musser's 1929 standard Fundamentalist version says included Joseph Smith and Jesus Christ--Taylor allegedly commissioned several Priesthood holders to continue practising and ordaining others in celestial (plural) marriage (Van

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[14] Fundamentalists have since decried the Church's abandonment of what it apparently considered "embarrassing" beliefs (e.g., that the Biblical Adam is God, that sacred undergarments must cover the whole body, and that the Priesthood excludes black men).

Wagoner, 1992: 276-7). He commissioned them to do so as individuals rather than as Church representatives, so that children would continue being born to polygynous parents until the Millennium. Supposedly at other times, various authorized Church leaders, including Woodruff, also appointed certain Priesthood holders to continue performing plural marriages in secret and separate from the Church (A Priesthood Issue, 1934: 37). Those attending the 1886 meeting reportedly consecrated their "lives, liberty, and property" to celestial marriage, and heard Taylor prophesy that the Church would be in temporal and spiritual bondage during the time of the seventh President.

At the time of the seventh President, Taylor prophesied, the "one mighty and strong" deliverer as prophesied in the Doctrine and Covenants, would come "to set in order the house of God" (D&C 85: 7; See Van Wagoner, 1992: 276-7). Several Fundamentalists have since proclaimed themselves the "one mighty and strong" to reunite their purportedly "true" Priesthood with the "dissident" Church.[15] The methods of some groups to achieve this "order" in God's house appear related to the doctrine of blood atonement (D&C 4: 53). The shedding of blood is imperative, according to this doctrine, for those who commit certain sins such as

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[15] Examples of Fundamentalist leaders who have proclaimed themselves to be the "one mighty and strong" are: John Tanner Clark; Nathaniel Baldwin; Alma Dayer, Benjamin, Joel, and Ervil LeBaron; Ron and Dan Lafferty; etc. See Wright, 1963: 21-25.

adultery and apostasy. Although Fundamentalists--including the group under study--believe in the doctrine of blood atonement, most Fundamentalists are non-violent (Driggs, 1991: 51) and resent the association with radical Fundamentalist groups.

As in mainstream LDS and LDS-derived sects, a "Prophet, seer, and revelator" is the highest Priesthood authority. Since 1886, several self-proclaimed Fundamentalist "prophets" have gathered believers to live (or at least, to believe in) polygamy, the United Order (i.e., by establishing a commune) and theocracy, as much as practically possible. The perpetual splintering of these Fundamentalist groups has resulted in a myriad of groups and "independents" who prefer their family kingdoms over those of organized groups.

FLDS--"The Work"

Thummim, the Canadian group under study, is a branch of the "Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (FLDS)--also known as "The Work." Originating in 1929 with Lorin C. Woolley who reportedly attended the 1886 meeting and claimed John Taylor's direct authority, the FLDS (originally called The Council of Friends, and sometimes referred to as the United Effort Plan, i.e., UEP, group) is the main, and longest lasting of the known Fundamentalist groups. Rulon Jeffs succeeded the now deceased LeRoy Johnson as Prophet. Another prominent group is the Apostolic United

Brethren (AUB) that splintered from the FLDS in 1951. The secretive Davis County Co-operative Society and the LeBaron creations such as the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness [sic] of Times and the murderous Church of the Lamb of God are a few of the many Fundamentalist groups (see appendix).[16]

The Problem of Secrecy

The problem of Fundamentalists' secrecy renders it difficult to ascertain all the groups and independents and their true membership. Fundamentalist claims appear exaggerated (e.g., Merrill, 1975: 116; Taylor, 1978:105). Yet estimates derived from official sources are likely to be conservative, reflecting, for example, only those on welfare or those from which polygamy can be inferred beyond doubt (see Anderson, 1957: 384). Hilton's (1965) acceptance of twenty thousand instead of two thousand Utahns living in polygamous families prompted Bitton's contempt for his "very superficial thesis" (Bitton, 1977: 114). Nevertheless, the Utah Attorney General's office in 1961 suggest nearly twenty

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[16] For further treatment of the FLDS, see Driggs, 1991, Van Wagoner, 1992: 301, and other work on Fundamentalists, generally. There is a need for comprehensive material that historically and sociologically contextualizes the various Fundamentalist groups and independents. Current writers on Fundamentalists tend to confuse the reader by implying that details applicable to specific groups apply equally to others (e.g., Bradley, 1990). Cannon (1990), for example, included a sermon of FLDS leader LeRoy Johnson in her thesis appendix without mentioning that he leads a rival group. It would have been more helpful if she would have included a sermon from the AUB group she studied.

thousand Utahns living in polygamous families (Anderson, 1957: 383; Van Wagoner, 1986: 263). Without always relaying their sources, Merson estimates 30,000 in 1967 with 10,000 in the Salt Lake City area alone (Merson, 1967: 78), and others claim current U.S. or North American populations as between 20,000 and 50,000 (Casey, 1990: 167; Donahue, 1991: 14; Geraldo, 1990: 9; Reim, 1991:6; Riisna 1984: 11). Surveys indicate that in the western U.S. alone, at least thirty thousand people live in polygamous situations (Van Wagoner, 1992: viii).

The number of Fundamentalists, nevertheless, is greater than the estimate of Mormon polygamous family members. Some Fundamentalist families may be monogamous because they, for example, may be waiting to receive another wife/mother, may not be considered worthy or may not want another wife/mother. Together the two main Fundamentalist groups, the AUB and FLDS (an FLDS branch being the topic of this study) comprise less than 10,000 people (see Cannon, 1990: 13; Casey, 1990: 117; Driggs, 1991: 50). Fundamentalists congregate in the western states, generally (especially Utah, Arizona and Montana, but also Idaho, California, Oregon, Wyoming, Nevada). Additional populations exist in Mexico, Canada, and western Europe (Driggs, 1991: 50).

Several of these groups reside in compounds or in secluded areas. Graphically depicting its desire for separation from the world, one group constructed a ten foot

high wall around its acreage (Solomon, 1984: 233). At least three colonies are strategically located on state or national borders. The main FLDS group, for example, is on the Arizona-Utah border with its twin towns of Colorado City, Arizona, and Hildale, Utah. To prepare for State police, polygynists here purportedly built their houses on skids. Thus when the Arizona police arrived, they moved their houses to the Utah side and vice versa.

Other tactics these (and other) polygynists employed to evade investigators were to move constantly, feign different relations with family members, provide no proof of marriages (e.g., no licences and retain maiden names for plural wives), have false names on birth certificates, and conduct marriages in virtual secrecy within the sect (Anderson, 1957: 385; See also Solomon, 1984).

Persecution of Fundamentalists

Although these hiding tactics were similar to those of pre-manifesto Mormons, the reason for hiding was slightly different. Now not only the law, but the Church, persecuted the polygamists, thus exacerbating Fundamentalists' secrecy. In addition to frequent polygamy-purges and excommunications, the Church denied both baptismal rites to children of polygamists and aid to "destitute" Fundamentalists (see Truth, Aug. 1939, 5:59; Merrill, 1976: 65). Feeling forsaken, several Fundamentalists believed "polygamy is no sin; the sin is being found out" (Merson,

1967: 106).

Born during the Church's and the law's new anti-polygamy efforts (Van Wagoner, 1992: 284-99), Truth monthly (FLDS) magazine became Fundamentalists' most successful literature, uniting the underground polygamists. Endeavouring to teach the "gospel of the Kingdom" (Truth, 1 June 1935, 1,1:1), Truth exposed Church leaders' post-manifesto (1890-1904) polygamy and reiterated pre-manifesto polygamy defenses. The Church failed in 1944 to ban this allegedly "lascivious" publication (Van Wagoner, 1992: 286).[17]

Despite this failure, the Church's support for raids on Fundamentalists brought bittersweet victory. In 1935 in Short Creek (i.e., the old name for Colorado City), 2 polygynists and a plural wife hid in a cave for a week before surrendering to police (Van Wagoner, 1992: 290). A 1944 Utah raid resulted in the imprisonment of 15 polygynous men (Van Wagoner, 1992: 288). Then in 1953, Arizona's Governor Pyle instigated the "Short Creek Raid" in order to rescue the alleged victims of "white slavery." Placing the entire peaceful town of Short Creek under martial law, the state seized 28 men, 86 women, and 263 children--virtually everyone. Cast into prison and into monogamous, i.e., supposedly "moral," foster homes, these "slaves" met freedom

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[17] For a Fundamentalist account, see Johnson, 1980, 4: 1635, *Truth*, Jan. 1953, 18,8: 241-51.

less than two years later when they zealously returned to Short Creek and to plural marriage (see Bradley, 1990).[18] The Utah Supreme Court failed to take a more humane approach in 1954, when it removed eight children from a Hildale plural wife and an "immoral" environment that polygamy supposedly fostered (Anderson, 1957: 386-87).

Polygamy crackdowns decelerated with only nine U.S. convictions of polygamy-related offenses between the Raid and 1965 (Hilton, 1965: 73-4). Although polygamy got Utah policeman Royston Potter fired in 1982 (Strack, 1983: 7), and has continued to attract negative publicity in both the U.S. and Canada, it currently enjoys relative tolerance. Canada's latest polygamy court case, for example, was over 50 years ago with only two preceding it (Committee on Polygamous Issues, 1993: 24).

Canada currently wrestles with either enforcing, or deeming unconstitutional, its anti-polygamy law. This law may be unconstitutional because it conflicts with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that assumably protects religiously motivated polygamy (Committee on Polygamous Issues, 1993: 24-27). Despite some U.S. court decisions favourable to religious groups (see Reid, 1989: B3, Strack,

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[18] See *Truth*, July 1953- March 1954, 19, 2-10: 34-380, 158, and Johnson, 1980, 1: 227, regarding the Raid and (FLDS) Fundamentalists' response. Despite the Church's approval of such anti-Fundamentalist incidents, individual Mormons such as Juanita Brooks have sympathized with them throughout their turbulent history (Van Wagoner, 1992: 297).

1983: 8), and despite Fundamentalist challenges that anti-polygamy laws impinge on religious freedoms (Strack, 1983: 8-9), U.S. anti-polygamy laws remain intact. These laws, however, are tacitly neglected. Consequently, polygamous communities in both the States and Canada bask in their apparent immunity to anti-polygamy laws, that, if enforced, could incite public criticism as did the 1953 Raid (Committee on Polygamous Issues, 1993: 26).

Material Pertaining to Fundamentalists

An overview of the relevant material pertaining to Fundamentalists facilitates appreciation for the focus and method of this study. Fundamentalist writings, personal accounts, media coverage, and Mormon and academic literature portray disparate, often biased, pictures of Fundamentalism.

1) Fundamentalist writings

Fundamentalists have written much heavily ideological material, reflecting their preoccupation to communicate the "secrets of the kingdom," as they sometimes call their doctrines. This literature, like that of pre-manifesto Mormons, conveys a strong sense of persecution and an idealized picture of polygamy while neglecting its day-to-day reality.[19]

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[19] The Fundamentalist material I reviewed includes: Allred, 1968; Collier, 1981; Johnson, 1980, vols. 1,2, 4, and various other FLDS sermons; Kraut, 1989; Musser, 1944; Short, 1974; *Truth* (1935-1956) vols. 1-20 and several pamphlets derived from this publication. e.g., "The Four Hidden Revelations."

Different groups' literature may present alternative

2) Personal Accounts

Personal accounts are a second and rich source of information. The account, for example, of believer Verlan LeBaron (1981) is an attempt to prove the veracity of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness [sic] of times. Highly ideological and factual, its few personal reflections pertain to revelations and eery apparitions. Ex-member accounts provide empathetic but more critical reflections. Solomon (1979, 1984) was the daughter of AUB leader, Rulon Allred; Chynoweth (1990) was a plural wife of Ervil LeBaron, leader of The Church of the Lamb of God; and Merrill (1975), a first wife who eagerly anticipated her husband's plural marriage, conceals the identity of the Fundamentalist "Society" with which she was involved. Despite the different sects to which these individuals belonged, common threads weave throughout their accounts.

These three ex-member authors convey the discrepancies between everyday, harsh reality and Fundamentalist ideals of "celestial" harmony and self-sacrifice. The fear of discovery, the 'invisible' stratification amongst wives and children (Solomon, 1984: 44), sexual jealousy, the small amount of privacy, humble circumstances, and the growing numbers of children to care for rendered the Principle a

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slants that are not espoused by all Fundamentalists (e.g., *Truth* magazine perpetuated the Woolley group's views, *Star of Truth*, the Apostolic United Brethren, and *Ensign*, the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness [sic] of Times).

true test of a woman's character (just as it appears to have been for pre-manifesto Mormon women). These accounts nevertheless convey members' single-minded commitment to the Principle that they believed made them special. "Children of the millennium" (i.e., children of polygynous unions), AUB leader Rulon Allred taught, had "heaven's secrets inscribed on their souls" and retained knowledge of their pre-existing perfection (Solomon, 1984: 257). It was for this otherworldly, celestial perfection that Fundamentalists laboured.

Another underlying theme in these personal accounts is the secrecy into which Fundamentalist families were socialized. Solomon remembers her childhood advice to "remember who we are.... and above all, keep the family secret." The "family secret" of polygyny drove her father underground and mandated reserve amongst children as well as adults (Solomon, 1984: 293, 31-43, 110). When in public, Fundamentalists wore masks of monogamy that concealed their polygamous identities. Yet this masking appears to have insulated Fundamentalists, reinforcing their myopic worldviews in which the secret--and the secrets it reproduced--increasingly defined members' lives.

The secret's betrayal threatened persecution and excommunication from the Church to which several Fundamentalists believed they belonged (e.g., the LeBarons, Merrill's group, and some AUB members). Polygamists who were

still in the Church therefore practised "discreet ignorance" of polygamy until they knew potential converts/novices were prepared (Merson, 1967: 106. See also Merrill, 1976: 90). One such novice appears to be Merson, who claims to be "the first reporter ever permitted to enter this forbidden world" (Merson, 1967: 78). This "forbidden world" comprised a clandestine church of intellectual, successful polygamists within the Church in Salt Lake City (Merson, 1967: 110).

Secrecy was significant, Merrill reveals, in obtaining (sister- or plural-) wives. Merrill's husband sought LDS women as potential wives, thus heightening the threat of excommunication and the secrecy to prevent it (Merrill 1976: 90). In attempts to court single women, he himself posed as single--until introducing them to his welcoming wives (Merrill, 1976: 63, 90). Although Fundamentalist men commonly sought unmarried women, Ervil LeBaron married one woman while she was married to another (Chynoweth, 1990: 60). Generally, virtual secrecy and sometimes haste characterized marriage ceremonies amongst Fundamentalist groups.

The secret, isolating world of Fundamentalism that Chynoweth, Merrill, and Solomon discuss appears to have exacerbated members' (especially females') dependence on Priesthood leaders (e.g., their husbands, fathers, and especially their Prophets). Solomon described her father, who headed the AUB sect, as an "omnipotent" and

"obliterating influence," and her other family members as "appendages" of him (Solomon, 1984: 291). Having ultimate power, some Fundamentalist leaders exploited their devotees unwittingly or wittingly in order to obtain sexual, material, and/or ego gratification (see Chynoweth, 1990: 61). Ervil Lebaron, for example, and leaders of Merrill's group--and of the FLDS (Casey, 1990: 167; Reim, 1991: 8)--appear tc have used wives and daughters as rewards and political bargaining chips (Chynoweth, 1990: 52, 61-2; Merrill, 1975: 139).

For women to achieve celestial exaltation, it was mandatory that they submit to their husbands, and thus to the Priesthood--the legitimate governors in mortal affairs. Yet this Priesthood appears to have kept Fundamentalist women--whose main responsibility was to govern their children in addition to their appetites and feelings--ignorant of the larger picture. Upon leaders' instructions, for example, Merrill's husband and sister-wife disappeared. It was not until a month later that the pregnant, debt-ridden Merrill discovered their whereabouts (Merrill, 1976: 65).

Chynoweth recalls the state of ignorance in which Ervil kept his female "Lambs" (i.e., followers). She states that:

> Like most of the other wives and women members of the Church of the Lamb of God, I was kept in the dark. The only time the women were brought in on the planning was when they were to be part of the 'hit team' itself (Chynoweth, 1990: 143).

Being "in the dark" rendered female (and male) "Lambs" obedient, nevertheless, as they trusted the Priesthood. The Lambs of God received Ervil LeBaron's revelatory instructions to kill people as sacred missions (See Chynoweth, 1990: 149, 216). This concept that the Priesthood conveys God's messages via revelation, accounts for the obedience to Priesthood-dictated marriages that some groups (e.g., Church of the Lamb of God and the FLDS) more or less practised. To fulfil "God's will" was the reason, for example, that sixteen year-old Rena Chynoweth "sacrificed" her own wishes and became the thirteenth wife of Ervil LeBaron--who was almost fifty at the time (Chynoweth, 1990: 79).

3) Mass Media

The mass media, including newspaper and magazine articles, talk- and news shows, is a third source of information about Fundamentalists. This material tends to be sensationalist, focussing on law infractions, allegations of sexual and emotional abuses, murder, sexual deviance, "white slavery," lecherous old men "marrying off" young naive girls, and other extraordinary features abstracted from Fundamentalists' daily contexts.

Stories and shows entitled, "an American harem" (Casey, 1990), "blood atonement? ... LeBaron teens fear hell, murder--won't talk" (Carter, 1988), "polygamist keeps grip on followers, even from the grave" (Moore, 1988), "forbidden

love" (Reim, 1991), "the secret world of polygamy" (Geraldo, 1990), and "polygamy: coming out of secrecy" (Donahue, 1991) indicate a general concern with power, secrecy, and sex. Ex-Fundamentalists who appear on talk/news shows articulate these concerns.

Yet Fundamentalists who appear, also, inadvertently, make secrecy salient. They, for example, are defensive and sometimes evasive about numbers and ages of wives. They tend to present idealized accounts of celestial marriage, conveying little information in contrast to the detailed accounts of ex-members. Despite Fundamentalists' attempts to downplay their patriarchal control, they betray this control by having male spokespersons (See Donahue, 1991; Geraldo, 1990; Hassler, 1986; Hassler, 1989; Riisna, 1984; Reim, 1991).

Cary (1954), a reporter who accompanied police during the 1953 Raid, provides a typical media description--since perpetuated--of the poverty-stricken Short Creek (Colorado City) "cultists." This description is important as a springboard to my description of Colorado City's offspring colony, Thummim. Short Creek women, Cary claims, were "virtual prisoners," often having to marry old men at young ages and from then on perpetually pregnant. Children, he observed, were "indoctrinated," "conquered," "dressed in rags," and "forced to work ... at a very young age" (Cary, 1954: 119, 123). Young men had to devote two years of hard,

unpaid labour to the Priesthood (Cary, 1954: 122) but they could not expect to get a bride within the community. Rather, older men who controlled the secretive marriage system tended to receive young brides, some as young as 11, 12, and 13. "Religion," Cary surmised, "was a procedure handed down directly from God to the Short Creek Patriarchs with some very strange tailoring to meet their needs" (Cary, 1954: 119). Despite Cary's and the rest of the media's insight, such sources fail to provide the secrecy-embedded context in which members sacralize leaders' control.

4) Mormons and scholars

Mormon writers and academics, and academics, generally, provide a fourth source of material on Fundamentalists. Although several academics and Mormons convey fascination with pre-manifesto celestial marriage (e.g., Hulett, 1939; Olson, 1975; Willey, 1983), they curiously neglect post-manifesto--especially Fundamentalist--polygamy. Although partly due to the Fundamentalists' secrecy and thus the difficulty in obtaining information, it seems that religious politics is partly responsible for this neglect. In these polygamy studies there is rarely acknowledgement, for example, of Fundamentalist polygamy, the study of which could overcome the methodological problems of relying on old memories for pre-manifesto polygamy. Church-sponsored polygamy studies (e.g., Redd Centre) ignore post-manifesto polygamy, even though studies of Fundamentalists could

illuminate historical polygamy. Although not necessarily Mormons, Kephart and Zellner typify the literature's double standard by praising early Mormons' innovative polygamy experiment, while implicitly denigrating the "deviant and devout" Fundamentalists for continuing to "embarrass" the Church that supposedly has "solved" the polygamy issue (Kephart and Zellner, 1991: 258-9).[20]

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[20] The literature's omissions and biases are understandable from a Mormon perspective, as Mormons continue to wrestle with the issue of polygamy (see Christiansen, 1963). The Church has tried to make "that doctrinal riddle that refuses to go away" (Gottlieb and Wiley, 1984, p. 231), i.e., polygamy, disappear in the minds of its adherents. It has, for example, failed to educate members about polygamy (Christiansen, 1963), minimized and distorted polygamy's prevalence and significance (Ivins, 1967: 310; Van Wagoner, 1992: 155), and suppressed historical polygamy doctrines and sermons (e.g., *D&C* 132; *JD*. See Johnson, 1980: 317-18, 1525, 1681, 1699-1700, 1712). The Church additionally has denied--despite allegations to the contrary--storing John Taylor's 1886 revelation in Church's archives where rank-and-file Mormons have no access to it (Collier, 1981: 2, 12; *Truth*, June 1949, 15,1: 14-5; See *Truth*, July 1949, 15,2: 42-3 for a copy of this revelation; Van Wagoner, 1992: 280-82). See Lindsey, 1988, for an account of Mark Hoffman's profitable exploitation of the Church's suppression of documents.

In efforts to stave off the Fundamentalist threat, Mormons additionally have tried to ban Fundamentalist literature (Johnson, 1980: 227, 1635; Van Wagoner, 1992: 286), and have perpetuated negative stereotypes of Fundamentalists. One stereotype is that Fundamentalists are largely uneducated and know little about Mormonism. Several Fundamentalists, however, were devout Mormons in the Church, having come from upstanding Mormon families. Many had served on LDS missions and were well-educated. The prolific Fundamentalist, Joseph W. Musser, for example, had access to sensitive Church documents, which possibly was why his magazine, *Truth*, posed such a threat to the Mormon Church (See Van Wagoner, 1992: 286-7; Driggs, 1990: 42-6, 1991: 45-6, 56).

When Mormons do study Fundamentalists, however, they often seem apologetic, and/or focus on doctrinal differences, in conspicuous attempts to 'prove' how out-of-line the Fundamentalists are (i.e., Jesse, 1959; Reimann, 1974).[21] LeBaron criticizes Wright for this bias (LeBaron, 1981: 164), that Wright himself acknowledges (Wright, 1963: 1), but Wright's major obstacle is Fundamentalists' unwillingness to convey information. He notes that some informants "have failed to supply information at their disposal" (Wright, 1963: 2), and his thesis appendix comprises several unanswered letters to Fundamentalist leaders.

Other research by Mormons or descendants of Mormons (e.g., Bradley, 1990; Cannon, 1990; Embry, 1985; Van Wagoner, 1985, 1986, 1992; Driggs, 1990, 1991) compensates for the omissions and negative biases pertaining to Fundamentalists. Bradley's (1990) study of Short Creek women who had experienced the 1953 Raid, fails, however, to substantiate her claims that Fundamentalists' "cult of motherhood" "counterpoised" patriarchy (Bradley, 1990: 23), and that the insular and controlled marriage system is "not

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[21] Proving via doctrine is the aim of the *Utah Evangel* and *Inner Circle*, conservative Christian publications with the aim of "exposing Mormonism." These publications often provide support for some of the Fundamentalists' claims about post-manifesto Mormon leaders living double lives. They also, however, negatively focus on Fundamentalists in attempts to embarrass the LDS Church.

necessarily coercive or exploitative" (Bradley, 1990: 18). Her conclusion that Short Creek women's "limitations" facilitated their "triumph" over attempts to break them alludes to the group's methods of control through insularity (Bradley, 1990: 27).[22] Interviewees had to rely on their 30+ year old memories, but Bradley fails to address pertinent methodological issues (e.g., selective memory, idealized versions).

Cannon's (1990, 1992) anthropological study on the AUB Pinesdale, Montana group yields a somewhat idyllic, descriptive account on female "networking" and "bonding." Apparently accepting member presentations of perfect harmony in line with their dogma, Cannon fails to consider the possibility of member performance for her--even though she notes members' initial suspicions:

> Residents eye visitors warily, especially if you ask a lot of questions. Even in asking simple directions, people stared at me suspiciously, and sometimes, didn't even answer. While walking down the road or sidewalk, others would move to the other side to avoid confrontation (Cannon, 1990: x).

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[22] The journal containing the article, however, is a Mormon religio-social (non-academic) journal. Given this context, Bradley's methodological neglect is understandable, and her defense and distortion of patriarchy makes sense, as patriarchy is sacralized in Mormonism (see Sonia Johnson, 1981:95). See Atwood, 1985, for a fictionalized depiction in which idealized motherhood is patriarchy's handmaiden.

This description parallels that by a (female) journalist who visited the FLDS group in Colorado City. Here, she claims, "if you ask for directions... women with children may even run away" (Casey, 1990: 117).

Although Cannon states that "strangers aren't welcome in Pinesdale," and "word got around that I was there to study them (Cannon, 1990: x), she claims a "welcome" after a week. Perhaps her Mormon heritage--or having brought her baby--accelerated trust. A true welcome, however, is unlikely in such a secretive society where leaders perform marriage ceremonies in secret places that the Priesthood chooses (Cannon, 1990: 122), and where members are isolated from the "evils" (Cannon, 1990: 70)--and the "Gentiles" of the world (i.e., non-Fundamentalists such as Cannon). The following discussion refers to the possible problem of validity in Cannon's study.

That members of this secretive, highly religious society permitted Cannon to live with 3 "sub-families" during her 4-week stay suggests the possibility that they defined the married Cannon as a potential convert (see Gordon, 1987). Leaders may have chosen the "sub-families" with whom she stayed, by virtue of their harmonious relations, harmony being central to the doctrine and in appealing to converts. (The possibility of such selectivity undermines the representativeness of some of Cannon's conclusions about female networking.)

Fundamentalists implicitly accept polygamy as more of a hardship for women--as "crucif[ying] the flesh that it may sanctify the spirit" (Young Women's Journal 2: 283, cited in Truth, 1943, 8(March): 10). The wife who refuses the law of plural marriage is proverbial in polygamist circles, with Joseph Smith's wife, Emma, the symbol of such rebellion. Although considered difficult for men, too, plural marriage is a reward system for men whose superiority may be measured, albeit crudely, by their numbers of wives. Thus members may think that it is easier to convert a husband (for whom await enticing rewards) after his wife (e.g., Cannon) has converted (see Cannon, 1990: 117).

Another possibility is that members may have hoped that Cannon would choose a "superior" man--who has a celestial relationship to his wives and children--over her monogamist husband. (A common motto amongst Fundamentalist women is that they would rather have 25% of a 100% man than 100% of a 25% man). The superior men, to Fundamentalists as to pre-manifesto Mormons, are polygynists. Such polygynists readily accept divorced women (Cannon, 1990: 83). Furthermore, given the pre-manifesto practice of polyandry or bigamy in order to marry a superior man, it is plausible (albeit unlikely) that members expected Cannon to have two husbands.

Members may have wanted Cannon to convert (and possibly marry) via the sister-wives that befriended her. Cannon herself notes that it is common for a woman to marry into a

family because of her previous relationship to the wives. As she notes, sister-wives often are closely related (e.g., sisters, cousins, mother-daughter, aunts, etc.) or may be close friends before marriage (Cannon, 1990: 119, 149).

However provocative these speculations (i.e., of potential convert or wife) may be, Cannon fails to provide enough field information for readers to assess their likelihood. Except for scanty information on her initial entry into the field, her fieldwork role, and a few quotes (see Cannon, 1990: viii-xi, xiii-iv, 91-2, 116-7, 119, 122, 140-8), Cannon fails to convey the relationship between the data and its concrete discovery. Consequently the embodied researcher (i.e., Cannon) appears disembodied, omniscient, and divorced from the context that she herself might have influenced. The community's focus on marriage and sexual modesty renders Cannon's disembodiment particularly suspect. This marriage focus would have influenced the ways in which both men and women related to Cannon. Even though Cannon (1990: 116) mentions girls' admission of "subtle flirting among girls and married men," she fails to convey her own experience with the community men and its possible effects on her relationship to the women. Failing to describe the contexts in which various conversations emerged, Cannon's relationship with all members (e.g., the above-mentioned girls) remains vague.

Driggs, a legal historian who claims "friends" in

Colorado City (Driggs, 1991: 56) and who has visited several groups including Thummim (fieldnotes June, 1992), also fails to provide enough fieldwork information to assess the possibility that members defined him as a potential convert. An "unseen hand" of a mysterious Fundamentalist elder, nevertheless, guided a male journalist "through the labyrinth of Salt Lake City's secret life" (Merson, 1967: 111). The precondition for this journey was, "if in your heart, you know you can come with us with an open mind, then come and see us. Come now..." (Merson, 1967: 106). This cryptic invitation intimates a sense of spiritual urgency--of defining the reporter (Merson) as a potential convert. At the very least, this precondition implies the elder's trust of a true seeker who potentially could write an empathetic account of this group.

Summary of Material on Fundamentalists

This overview of Fundamentalist writings, personal and media accounts, and Mormon and academic literature, facilitates an understanding of Fundamentalism. Although several sources betray biases, they corroborate to affirm the significance of secrecy as a defining characteristic of, and methodological problem in studying, Fundamentalists. In summary, Fundamentalists themselves use a blanket of ideology to both convey but conceal the reality of their world--possibly even to themselves. Ex-member personal accounts convey the dynamics of secrecy--how the secrecy

protects from persecution but also imbues members' lives with meaning. The media targets social control as central to Fundamentalist secret society. Most writers interested in Fundamentalism have an ideological agenda to impose on the reader (e.g., Cary the police reporter, some Mormons) and/or have difficulty accessing information. Consequently, there is a dearth of "objective" and academic sources.

Writers who are sympathetic (and often are more "objective" but sometimes idyllic) tend to be those who physically have entered the secret worlds of Fundamentalism. Their accounts, however, raise the possibility that members deemed them potential converts--a methodological/ ethical problem for those studying religious groups. Yet the idea of potential convert to a secret society also is theoretically relevant in terms of the dynamics of secrecy.

Summary of Chapter Two

This review has highlighted secrecy's pervasiveness throughout the history and ideology of Mormon plural marriage. Joseph Smith, Mormonism's author and "Prophet," conveyed contradictory messages about the plural marriage (polygyny) he deemed essential for godly exaltation. He concealed his "revelation" and practice of plural marriage from all but an elite circle of Priesthood men (i.e., high ranking men under his authority). Although Smith's "revelation" targeted his wife, Emma, she continually repudiated plural marriage, thus reinforcing his secret

sexual practices--which others deemed adultery or bigamy. Dissidents threatened publication of Smith's deviant sexuality so Smith ordered the destruction of a local printing press, an act that led to his imprisonment and martyrdom.

Believers were divided over the polygamy issue--its morality and whether Smith ever practised it. Consequently many refused to follow Smith's successor, Brigham Young, who popularized plural marriage amongst Priesthood men. Once settled in the isolated Rocky mountain basin, these Mormons openly practised plural marriage and publicly defended its sexual virtues against allegations of perversity. But increasingly intense persecution--via the press, the law, and the dominant society generally--drove polygamists underground.

Finally the Mormon Church in 1890 publicly issued a manifesto which repudiated the practice albeit not the doctrine of plural marriage. Yet for 14 more years Mormon leaders secretly married and ordained others to marry, while publicly repudiating polygamy. Mormon leaders sent contradictory messages about plural marriage to believers themselves. Outsider allegations of continued practice led the Church to reinforce its manifesto with another one in 1904, after which it actively discouraged and even persecuted polygamists. By then polygamists had moved to Mexico and also to Canada. Leaders encouraged polygamy at

secret meetings in Canada despite its illegality.

Supposedly at a secret meeting in 1886, Mormon Prophet John Taylor commissioned several Priesthood holders to continue the Principle of plural marriage indefinitely. The "Fundamentalists" were thus born. Even after their own Church capitulated to Gentile monogamy and excommunicated polygamists, the doubly persecuted Fundamentalists quietly continued their practices. Persecution climaxed in 1953, when the polygamous town of Short Creek (now called Colorado City--the U.S. counterpart to "Thummim") was placed under martial law, its children put in foster homes, and its men imprisoned. After this and other unsuccessful attempts to obliterate plural marriage, there have been few attempts to enforce anti-polygamy laws.

The original "Fundamentalists" (congregating around Short Creek, now called Colorado City) formed "The Work" of which "Thummim" is its Canadian part. A myriad of polygamous groups, some "blood-atoning" murderers but most of them peace-loving, emerged. Continuing their legacy of secrecy, many live in isolated areas or maintain anonymity in cities. Their evasions, denials, secret marriages, and like, render them difficult to study. Indeed, examination of studies and other material pertaining to Fundamentalists deems secrecy a salient methodological, but also emergent theoretical, problem. But those who have entered Fundamentalist societies have neglected this theoretical problem, ignoring important

clues about their own roles as neophytes.

Chapter 3: "God's Work" in Thummim

A secret society must be understood in terms of its historical, physical, and social context. This chapter therefore reconstructs the context of Thummim in order to provide an interpretive framework for my fieldwork (discussed in the next two chapters). The information presented is based partly on newspaper clippings, court records, governmental publications, corporate searches, land searches, sermons, and other primary documents. My fieldwork observations in Thummim, as well as my interviews and conversations with both non-members and ex-members, comprise the main sources of information. Throughout this and the following chapters I document my fieldwork sources, i.e., fieldnotes and interviews, along with their dates (by day-month-year). The reader may assume that all interviews, except those that are specified as being with non-members (e.g., a neighbour), are with ex-members. (See Appendix B for further discussion of method and documentation style.)

Becoming Part of The Work

As discussed, plural marriage in Canada appears to have waned before having adequate opportunity to spread. By the 1940s, however, members (including Owen LeBaron) of a secret, U.S.-based Priesthood arrived in western Canada to disseminate the good news of polygamy at "cottage meetings" (i.e., secret, late-night meetings) held in the houses of receptive Mormons. Several Canadians, many of whom had

served on Mormon missions and were active in the LDS Church, attended these meetings and converted to "The Work" of which these secret Priesthood holders were a part (interviews 01-01-92; 03-12-92: 1257).

"The Work" is the ambiguously all-encompassing term with which the FLDS (Colorado City-based) sect refers to their "one true religion" (member Eve, fieldnotes 08-06-92: 2; Johnson, 1980: 511). The term, The Work, derives from Joseph Smith's equivocation of Jesus's words (*John* 8:39), recorded in the *Doctrine and Covenants* 132: 32, to "do the works of Abraham." The Old Testament polygynist, Abraham, is a prototype for Mormon polygynists. Indeed, such "Mormons" refer to plural marriage as the "Law of Abraham" (*D&C* 132). "Abrahamic Law" aims to produce children of light, "Children of the Millennium"--just as Abraham's progeny supposedly became a chosen people.

Canadian converts to The Work tried to conceal their polygynous activities and beliefs from their family members, friends, and the LDS Church lest they embarrass them or undergo arrests or excommunications. Hanna, now an ex-member, pretended to be her Uncle Isaac's hired farm helper, a convenient cover for being his plural wife. Then Isaac's first wife, Esther, pretended to have adopted a child--whose looks betrayed Hanna as its mother and humiliated their Mormon relatives. Like other plural wives, Hanna pretended to be an unwed mother. Thus her babies were delivered in

distant cities for unwed mothers where she hoped to remain anonymous (interviews 01-01-92: 3; 05-01-93: 44-258; 06-01-93: 308; 07-01-93: 956-87). Fundamentalists' desire for anonymity affected their children as well. Ex-member Alan learned while growing up, that when in public outside the small Alberta town in which locals tolerated the family's polygamy, he had to refer to his elderly polygynist father as "Grandpa" (interview 06-12-92: 534-47). In efforts, therefore, to escape the raised eyebrows of the world, some believers sought refuge in "Thummim."

Thummim Ranch

The year 1947 saw the emergence of The Work at Thummim Ranch, a haven for security-seeking Fundamentalists that was to become the spiritual, social, and material nucleus of Canadian FLDS polygamy (Dawson, 1993: A 42; Cunningham, 1990: 51; Lingley, 1990: 2). Thummim originated as a vision in the mind of a Fundamentalist convert named Jacob, according to Jacob's ex-member daughter. Jacob reportedly yearned to raise his family "away from the evils of the world"--or, in the oft-quoted words of Priesthood leaders, as "calves in the stall" (Johnson, 1980: 1551; Musser, 1974: 2). Elated at having discovered the mountain-secluded ranch that matched his vision in detail, Jacob purchased it and relocated his and other families there (interviews 01-01-92; 07-01-93: 860-901).

By 1985, the "United Effort Plan" (UEP), an apparently

Priesthood-run land trust,[23] had acquired the 162 hectares (400 acres) now referred to as Thummim. Ninety two of these hectares had belonged to Noah, Thummim's first bishop (i.e., leader). Upon Noah's death, Abraham became leader and according to the law of senior ordination was supposed to lead until his death. But suddenly in 1985--right after Noah's legal wife secretly deeded the family estate to the church--the Prophet deposed Abraham and appointed Noah's son Adam in his place (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A42, A44; interviews 01-11-92: 95-120; 02-11-92: 110-120; 09-01-93: 515-543). Thus dethroned, Abraham is now a mere figurehead. He assumes a limited leadership role and outwardly supports Adam who as bishop is the material and spiritual leader of Thummim members (i.e., both Thummim residents and believing non-residents). Ex-members unanimously claim that Adam has "ultimate power," being accountable only to U.S.-based Prophet Rulon Jeffs (interviews 03-11-92: 197; 06-01-93: 626-42) with whom he and a few others are UEP trustees (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A42, A44). These other leaders affiliate with Thummim's U.S. counterpart, Short Creek,

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[23]The UEP has an estimated worth of over $65 million U.S. The UEP is a trust established in 1942 by the "United Effort Order in North America" which also established other organizations. The UEONA apparently is one the name of the 10,000 member Work which has communes in Colorado City, AR and Hildale, UT in addition to Thummim (Dawson, 1993: A44). However, it appears that the church might be a separate entity, as LeRoy Johnson incorporated it as the Fundamentalist Church of Latter-day Saints. See "Quick References" in Appendix A of this thesis.

later called Colorado City, the "City of the Millennium" (see Johnson, 1980: 27, 1705).

Thummim's vital U.S.-Canada link has always been obscure to the public. After the 1953 "Short Creek Raid"[24] the Timber Valley newspaper serving the area in which Thummim is a part, repudiated the connection. Denying rumours about Short Creekers moving to Timber Valley, and about polygamy-related excommunications in Timber's LDS stake, the author stated that local police have found no definite proof of polygamy. These unfounded polygamy rumours, he claimed, have resulted in "undeserving ridicule" of local Mormons (Legg, 1953).[25] Despite this 1953 disclaimer, however, the Valley had by this time a polygamous underground in the recondite ranch of Thummim. Members here protected themselves from public scrutiny through physical and social isolation.

Thummim's Physicality

Strategically remote, Thummim lies in the cradle of the little-known, agriculturally based Timber Valley. Revered for its untouched beauty, the Valley is both physically and attitudinally distant from major cities--just what many of

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[24] The "Short Creek Raid" refers to the Arizona government's efforts to eradicate "white slavery," i.e., polygamy, by taking children away and imprisoning polygynists. See "Persecution of Fundamentalists" in chapter two.

[25] Legg, Herbert L. 1953. "Undeserving Ridicule." *Timber Review Limited*. Thursday, Aug. 13. Cited in *Truth*, 1953, 19,6 (Nov.): 188.

the local farmers and nature-lovers prefer. Yet sixteen kilometres southeast of the valley's main town of Timber, these retreatist sentiments seem to resonate like endless echoes in the caverns of the nearby mountains. Here one finds the final, public road into Thummim, marked with the sign, "no through road," that inadvertently prophesies the difficulties for "Gentiles" to enter therein. Just as plural marriage is the only route to celestial exaltation, so this "no through road" is the only route to Thummim. Bush-lined and obscure, it seems to sneak over a view-obstructing hill into the dominion of plural marriage. Majestic, cliffy mountains loom directly over this dominion like the seemingly omniscient but inaccessible fathers of several of the ex-members with whom I talked (interviews 06-01-93: 102-24, 690; 07-01-93: 125; 09-01-93: 1059). A multitude of trees shields Thummim from the oblivious Gentile farmers who tend the lonely fields nearby. Their minds purportedly blinded by "satanic" monogamy, these Gentiles fail to comprehend the significance of their neighbours' mysterious Work.

The Work is not immediately apprehended, however. Physically, Thummim is unremarkable, except its lacklustre houses tend to be bigger, unfinished, or under construction. Several of these twenty-some houses occur in clusters of two or three houses in close proximity, and some look like duplexes with separate entrances. Although some sit behind

hills, camouflaged within the trees, others--like the two handsome houses inhabited by the bishop and his wives--stand near the public road that ventures through Thummim. In addition to the 200 or so members that now live in these comfortably (or sometimes, uncomfortably,) spartan houses, probably 200 other members live in 20 houses in nearby communities or in remoter areas on non-UEP land. Two sister-wives and their children, for example, share what looks like a hide-away hotel, hidden in trees in a narrow river valley, and one plural wife and several children live on a far-off mountain top in virtual seclusion (interview 07-01-93: 202-20). Still others live in outlying cities and a nearby province and come for Priesthood meetings during the year.

Dwarfing Thummim's sizeable houses is an immense red barn--now converted to a church and private secondary school. The barn sits on a steppe with a commanding view of the public road below. This road climbs the steppe and separates in a V-shape, so that the right arm approaches the church/school, and the left approaches a box-shaped elementary school. Ubiquitous evergreens obstruct the view between the schools. Located on a natural playground--with sledding hills, biking trails, and a swimming-and-skating pond--the unlandscaped school grounds also boast home-made volleyball nets and a government-constructed jungle gym. The schools themselves access partial government funds (Weatherbe, 16 Aug. 1993:16; *Canada West*, 16 Sept. 1990: 11;

Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A43), representing the evolution of Thummim's original home school for which Thummim founders won the legal right (interview 07-01-93: 1071-89).

Thummim Elementary and Secondary Schools

Most FLDS members in the Timber Valley have attended or currently attend Thummim school. Originally, a former member claimed, the home school started and stopped at different times, freeing children to work manually for their teachers during the afternoons (interview 02-12-92: 37). Now the positively evaluated, well-equipped Independent School (*Canada West*, 16 Sept 1990: 11; Dawson, 26 Sept 1993: A 43) is more structured. The school purports to offer a wide range of courses--even Mandarin--in addition to English, Math, Science, Music, Theatre, Art, Computer Science, Business, Phys-Ed, Career Preparation, Industrial Arts, Agriculture, Foods, Clothing and Textiles, and the like (*Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Student/ Parent/ Teacher Handbook of Procedures, 1987-88*: appendix).

The aim of the school is not so much cerebral as celestial, however. Indeed, leaders stress that "We [Thummim members] should all be in agreement that this school is [the Prophet,] *Uncle Rulon's school*" (*Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter,* 1992:2, emphasis original). "Uncle Rulon's" possession is palpable upon entering the average looking but neglectfully dirty schools. Pictorial successions of the FLDS Prophets dominate the foyers--where

children may be heard rehearsing songs or plays for church, and where they gather for morning prayer. Hanging from school walls are computerized banners stating: "wickedness never was happiness," "without obedience, learning cannot occur," "be sweet--it's a matter of life and death," and "mind your own business."

The school minds the "business" of "train[ing students] how proper Priesthood marriages are brought about..." according to the *Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter* (1992: 5). Former members, for example, recall memorizing John Taylor's 1886 revelation. More recently a biology exam quizzed students on "celestial" and "placement marriage" and "commitment" (interview 07-01-93: 612-63; *Canada West*, 16 Sept. 1990: 11; Cunningham, 1 Oct. 1990: 51). Although various members have quit school beforehand to marry (e.g., informant interview 07-01-93: 1462-87), graduation tends to be a rite of passage for marriage. One informant alleged that one struggling student "shouldn't have graduated" but was "pushed ahead" to graduation upon which she married (07-01-93: 1275).

In addition to communicating the supremacy of and preparing students for marriage, the school--where female teachers are perpetually pregnant--also conveys the value of procreation. "[In] our sewing class [20 years ago] at school," former member Hilda noted, "we made baby clothes. We had it all picked out what our first baby was gonna wear

when it was born" (interview 02-11-92: 267-69). Hilda also said her 'health class' instructor taught that sexually active pregnant women have "mentally retarded" babies (interview 02-11-92: 570). Twenty years later, teachers still laud the "Mothers of Zion" whose immense material sacrifices enable them to afford more babies. Ex-member Georgia recalled a teacher proclaiming to her students: *"'Some families would rather have children than cheese* [which was an "expensive luxury"]!' But," Georgia told me, "I ended up crying in that class, because *I felt so bad! Like it was my fault that my mother wasn't having more children"* (interview 07-01-93: 1693; see Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A 43 and *City Journal,* 12 Nov. 1992: A2, for other allegations of teachers ridiculing students according to who their parents are).

Loyalty

In addition to marriage and married procreation, the school encourages "loyalty." The loyalty "rule" posits:

> The challenge today is that many of the apostates are our relatives. Our Prophet has said that if we are not all the way for him, we are against him. *The children of this school should not be socializing with apostates.* The apostate influence brought into this school will poison the whole barrell (*Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter,* 1992: 6, emphasis original).

Former student, Bathsheba, was potentially so "poisonous" that one teacher allegedly lectured other students (including my informant) about how "stupid" Bathsheba was

for going with a man outside of the group (interview 07-01-93: 641-703).

Although as fresh as ever, this hostility towards apostates is not new (but must be concealed since the Independent School Act refuses to fund schools that "promote or foster doctrines of ... religious intolerance or persecution" (*Annual Report, Ministry of Education, July 1, 1988-June 30,* 1989: 68). Ex-member Carrie, for example, remembered 15 years ago when schoolchildren threw rocks at and taunted her as a "harlot" because her mother had apostatized (interviews 03-12-92: 1806; 01-05-93: 960-74). As now-deceased Prophet LeRoy Johnson (1980: 83) had proclaimed, the daughters of the Saints who had given up plural marriage "would walk the streets as common harlots" (also Cunningham, 1 Oct. 1990: 53). Currently, students who violate the "loyalty" rule or the other three rules of "obedience," "proper boy-girl relationships," and the strict "dress code," may be expelled--even if their disobedience occurs outside of the school (*Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter,* 1992: 2,5).

Dress Code

Whether inside or outside of Thummim, members young and old conform to an identifiable dress code. Females usually wear modest dresses in the 1840s, ruffled style of "Little Bo-Peep," as ex-member Nancy jokingly but accurately describes. Barrettes, bows, hair nets, and other accessories

frequently don females' long braids or the less prevalent Shirley Temple curls. Make-up and jewellery--except for a wedding ring for married individuals--are forbidden. Males, who are clean shaven and short-haired, wear long sleeved shirts. They wear loose pants--but not too loose as the Prophet (i.e., "Uncle Rulon") forbids styles that emulate the "foolish fashions of the Gentiles of sloppiness" (*Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter,* 1992: 3). At all times both sexes are to wear "holy" undergarments that women of The Work have sewn (interview 09-01-93: 752; also 06-01-93: 225).

Work and Social Life

The work ethic of Thummim members has earned them the respect of local Gentiles. By age four, girls may babysit, sew, and garden with family members, and boys may join Thummim work projects to improve the community. Moreover, many family-run businesses around the Timber Valley (but usually outside of Thummim Ranch itself) have been Fundamentalist-run. Adam's logging company, grocery store, and other businesses employ about forty members (Weatherbe, 16 Aug. 1993: 18). Some of these members prefer working for Adam--and thus directly for "The Work"--for lower wages than elsewhere for higher. School employees--some of whom who have obtained teaching certificates from local or Mormon colleges--also contribute directly to The Work (*Canada West* 16 Sept. 1990: 11). In addition, various members are self-

employed (e.g., as truckdrivers).

Although one member reportedly "brags he never has to work for a Gentile" (informant interview 02-12-92: 77), others are less "fortunate" and work as hired farm labourers or trained homemakers. Thummim also boasts registered nurses who work in the local Timber hospital and who teach prenatal classes in Thummim. Despite some economic dependence on Gentiles, members restrict their social contact with outsiders. Lovers of hockey, they frequently rent the local rink for themselves and select outsiders (e.g., relatives). They often go swimming or shopping in groups, thus avoiding excessive contact with "Gentiles" (interviews 05-01-93: 1495; 06-01-93: 77-; 07-01-93: 1182-1261).

Gentiles

In dealing with "Gentile" "enemies" to their "sacred" marriage system, secrecy has been a Thummim mainstay. Ex-member Hanna, for example, said an earlier Prophet taught that "whenever you can tell a lie to beat the devil, tell a lie" (interview 05-01-93: 388). Other ex-members recalled their fearful childhood attempts to hide when Gentiles, especially police whom they suspected might detect their parents' plural marriages, entered Thummim (interview 06-01-93: 298).

Decades later members still react coolly to outsiders. Blank, obsessive staring, active ignoring, and darting away seem common ways to deal with encroaching outsiders. At

other times members have told outsiders, reporters, dissidents, apostates and even a member who was talking to a dissident while standing on UEP property, to leave the property (interviews 13-11-92; 02-11-93: 686-95; 03-11-92:164; 02-12-92: 762-75; 03-12-92: 418-31; 03-12-92: 1380-95). Given members' unwelcoming stance, therefore, outsiders tend to avoid Thummim--despite its location on a public road. Even three longtime neighbours of Thummim reported to me their nervousness about going to Thummim.

Nelly, an elderly Gentile whom I visited, said she has had little contact with her 'un-neighbourly' neighbours who live beyond the trees separating her property from Thummim. Nelly told me about Thummim's founding days. She described her futile attempts to befriend two "reserved" sister-wives, alleging their suspicious, controlling husband forbade them to talk to her. Like other local outsiders, Nelly knew about the polygyny but little else--although she suspected dark secrets (interview with Nelly 13-11-92).

Mass Media and Outside Authorities

In hot pursuit of dark discoveries, the media has exposed the "seamy secrets" of various members' sexual abuse (Cunningham, 1 Oct. 1990: 50; Dawson, 2 July 1993: A1, A40-41; Lingley, 13 Sept. 1990: 1-2; Perrella, 29 Aug. 1991: 1; Weatherbe, 16 Aug. 1993: 16-18). Such exposure appears to have prompted the official discovery of, and legal disputes about, polygamy itself (Dawson, 27 Sept. 1993: A5; Hunter,

28 Oct. 1991: 1, 3; Hunter, 15 June 1992: 1, 3, 8, 9; Perrella, 5 Sept. 1991: 1; *Province Report* 22 June 1992: 43; *Province Report* 1 Oct. 1990: 50). Publication of the abuse experienced by various ex-members (e.g., *Canada West* 16 Sept. 1990: 11; *Canada West* 26 Sept. 1993: A42; *Province Report* 1 Oct. 1990: 53) has heightened public concern about Thummim's power structure and patriarchal ideology. This concern has sanctioned official enquiries (e.g., Committee on Polygamous Issues, 1993) and increased media attacks on virtually every aspect of The Work in Thummim (e.g., Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A41; *City Journal* 27 Sept. 1993: A4).

In dealing with the allegedly "apostate"-informed "lies" of the "persecuting" media (*Province Report* 1 Oct. 1990: 51; fieldnotes), Thummim leaders tended to be media-shy or totally uncooperative (Dawson 26 Sept 1993: A41). Ex-member Ellen, for example, remembered that Adam instructed his congregation to leave--which it did--as soon as an expected U.S.-based reporter arrived (interview 03-11-92: 204). Thummim spokesmen--and women, who until recently had been forbidden to speak to the media (*Canada West* 16 Sept, 1990: 11; Dawson 26 Sept. 1993: A41; Cunningham, 1 Oct. 1990: 51)--publicly have denied allegations, to the point of disclaiming the practice of placement marriage altogether (Weatherbe, 3 Aug. 1993: 1). Paradoxically, however, two leaders of Thummim have also appeared on documentaries, which featured one such leader with his wives and daughters.

Although generally uncooperative with the media, members convey at least an illusion of co-operation with authorities (Hunter, 15 June 1992: 3; e.g., *Thummim School Policy on Child Abuse: Sexual/ Physical/ Neglect*). Seventy Thummim women recently announced plans to lobby such authorities (i.e., social workers, judges and women's and governmental groups) in order to tell them "what life is truly like in Thummim" (Hunter, 8 July 1993: 3; Hiebert, 16 Aug. 1993: 31). Thummim spokeswoman Tara wrote in the local paper: "Anyone who knows us would laugh at [allegations that we are] 'silenced' or 'coerced'" (*Timber Valley News* 19 July 1993: 4). Regarding polygamy, Adam claimed, "I have never made any secret of ... liv[ing] my religion" (Hunter, 28 Oct. 1991: 3), and he maintained that Thummim is an open society where people do what they want.

Contradicting members' self-proclaimed openness and co-operation with authorities, ex-member Clara alleged leaders encourage a "talk but don't talk" policy with police and social workers (*Timber Valley News,* 15 June 1992: 4; interview 03-12-92: 229). Clara recounted leaders' unsuccessful attempts to block investigators' access to an alleged sex abuse victim whom they intended to question. Thummim leaders allegedly feigned ignorance of her whereabouts while simultaneously isolating her in a different building. Supposedly they enjoined her not to talk unless they themselves were present (interviews 09-01-93:

1326-1440; also 13-12-92: 2115-52). Another ex-member alleged that the group "put on a pretty good show" for school investigators whose arrivals were pre-announced (interview 02-12-92: 978; see Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A43).

Ever-changing Decrees

A true picture of Thummim is difficult to find--and even ex-members admit such difficulty. Ex-member Cathy said:

> When I was a kid they [teachers] always would tell us we have to protect and build up these sacred teachings. *Well I'm still trying to figure out what these sacred teachings were, you know <laughs>.* (Inaud) *but what, what is this sacred Work we're doing here you know? I missed it* (interview 02-12-92: 744-48).
>
> *I lived there for 17 years and ... still don't know what The Work is* (interview 13-12-92: 195).

Cathy's incognizance alludes to Thummim's normative environment of not always knowing the rules and of constant rule change. Ex-members spoke, for example, of an "unwritten code," of having to "follow the line" to "the letter"--even though they claimed there was no line (interviews 02-12-92: 617-19; 13-12-92: 2657) or they did not know what it was. The "unwritten code" constitutes ongoing decrees stemming from the belief in the Prophet's latter-day revelation. Thus over the years, the Prophet (and perhaps high ranking leaders such as Adam) have mandated various modest dress styles, dress lengths, and hairstyles (interviews 05-01-93: 977-1043, 1700-23; 07-01-93: 1036-63). They also have condemned TVs and videos which current Prophet Rulon Jeffs

(26 May 1991) said are "of the Devil" (interviews 02-11-92: 332; 03-12-92: 1340-47).

Old decrees to which observance has slackened may be reissued years later. "[Y]ou never know," said ex-member Lanny, "what has fallen out of favour and if you're transgressing the law because the law just kind of shifts back and forth" (interview 05-01-93: 1692). Informants claimed that members recently disposed of their red clothes after leaders reinstated an old decree that "Children of the Chosen Race do not wear red," red being the "colour of harlots" (interviews 02-12-92: 232; 03-12-92: 1326-47). Although once on the condemned list, motorbikes, guns, and (leaders') airplanes are now popular in The Work (interview 06-12-92: 1273-80). Although originally accepted, jeans and bathing suits are now strictly forbidden (interview 05-01-93: 105). Now condemned, pantsuits once were acceptable so that women venturing outside of Thummim would not have to "cast their pearls before swine" (interview 09-01-93: 744-60).

One periodically instituted practice in Thummim (albeit practised routinely in Colorado City) is the "work mission," two years of hard, unpaid labour required of young (unmarried) men (interviews 02-11-92: 146-63; 02-12-92: 823; 13-12-92: 470-94). Another practice that ex-members dubbed, "musical houses," refers to the continuous reshuffling of restructured families to different UEP houses in attempts to

accommodate them. Residing in Thummim (i.e., UEP property) "at the pleasure of the [UEP] trustees," according to a UEP document, members are "tenants at will" who may be told to leave at any time (interviews 03-11-92: 160, 180; 13-12-92: 440, 2632; Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A41, A44; UEP documents). In an ongoing legal suit,[26] several (mostly U.S.) dissidents have alleged that the UEP secretly removed them as UEP beneficiaries (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A44). They also have accused the church of "hoodwink[ing]" them into handing over their property (including part of Thummim). Thus ex-members were suspicious after Adam instructed non-UEP residents to sell their houses and build on Thummim (Canada West: A41, A44; UEP documents; interviews 03-12-92: 1420; 13-12-92: 3-188, 391-34, see 07-01-93: 164-202, 588-).

Even foundational beliefs, such as the venerated Priesthood succession (see Committee on Polygamous Issues, 1993: Appendix 3; Bishop and Bishop, 1972: 12), have undergone modifications or exceptions, "shaking the testimony" of some who since have left the group (interviews 07-01-93: 426-553; 03-12-92: 900-1032). In addition, one previous bishop convinced his young wife, Candice, that she "needed more sex" than other wives. He told her the "Law of Chastity" which forbids non-procreational sex was inapplicable to her. After his death, Candice continued to

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[26] From looking through transcripts regarding the UEP case, it seems that members are unable to define The Work, and do not know the official name of their religion, etc.

violate the Law with her second husband. Guilt-ridden, this husband "confessed" to his first wife who accused Candice of being a "whore" and involved the community leaders. These leaders then announced that the Law of Chastity was invalid--since its architect, Joseph Musser, was not a Prophet even though he--like others--was thought to be at an earlier time (interviews 02-11-92: 576-86; 03-12-92: 900-1032; also 09-01-93: 1621-47 for another example of leaders disregarding their own rules; see Bishop and Bishop, 1972: 62-72).

The leaders, according to various ex-members, might not require the "chosen ones" to comply as strictly to the ever-changing code as less favoured members. Ex-members generally agreed that those with an esteemed parentage (e.g., a bishop and his favoured wife and/or first wife) tend to be "chosen." These select individuals supposedly receive "rewards" such as wives, esteem, better vehicles, and post secondary education. Ex-member Hanna stated crudely: "The leader [bishop] he [sic] looks after his children and the others can suck the hind tit" (interview 05-01-93: 582). Ex-members claimed that members additionally try to earn favour through "loyalty"--unquestioning obedience and submission to the Priesthood. (The "chosen" idea recurs in interviews 02-11-92: 444-75; 02-12-92: 69-107; 02-11-92: 244-54; 02-12-92: 156-97, 390, 519-37; 13-12-92: 1057-1108, 1144, 1201-1244, 1271, 1358, 1419-24, 2241-2392; 05-01-93: 419-; 07-01-93: 800-15, 1638-58; the "chosen blood line" in education

appears in Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A43, and *City Journal*, 12 Nov. 1992: A2).

Responses to Deviance

Loyal members remain alert and respond appropriately to the Priesthood's reprimands (see Johnson, 1980: 686). "[I]t's just kinda hit and miss," said ex-member Carrie. "If you get yelled at for wearing that dress, you don't wear it anymore" (interview 02-12-92: 1002, 1049). Church (and apparently school) is the forum for such chastising--even though members' intense self-chastising may render public reprimands unnecessary (interview 04-12-92: 544). Although speakers do not necessarily use names, ex-members claimed that listeners know who they are talking about (interviews 02-12-92: 266, 781-90, 983-93, 1000-09; 05-01-93: 419-, 700; 07-01-93: 352-424). Ex-members claimed, for example, that everybody knew who Karl referred to when he proclaimed before the congregation that he had "two good wives" in one province and two "bad" ones in another (interviews 07-01-93: 2116; 09-01-93: 114-29).

This ever-changing environment of not always knowing and of public humiliation for deviance is fertile ground for rumours and "spies." Thus ex-members dubbed Thummim, "Little Russia" where "everybody is always watched" (interviews 02-12-92: 256; 13-12-92: 300-05, 334-68, 2771-90). Such surveillance renders concealment of deviance imperative. Informants told me, for example, about members hiding TVs,

conspiring to defy a cruel father, making secret appointments with psychologists (whom members do not recognize), and violating the dress and dating codes when away from Thummim (interviews 03-12-92: 717; 13-12-92: 840-45; 09-01-93: 733). One ex-member's bathing suit tan lines betrayed his immodesty, for which he was shunned (interview 07-01-93: 113).

Shunning is common treatment for deviants--who nevertheless might not know what they did wrong. Nancy, for example, remembered trying to visit her daughter when her son-in-law demanded her departure from UEP property. He never told Nancy what she had done to trigger the total avoidance and hostility with which "apostates"--those who have abandoned The Work--were familiar. Nancy suspected, however, that her brief association with a reporter (who failed as she had promised, to keep their association secret) was the reason for this ill-treatment (interview 07-01-93: 603). Ex-member Larry said he did not discover for years why everyone, including his best friends, suddenly shunned him while he was on a work mission in Colorado City. He said:

> I've had guys I'd thought were the best damn friends ... just turn on me... over the slightest decree. I was kicked out of Colorado City, and I didn't even know! ... And they did it in a public meeting. In my absence (interview 13-12-92: 468-84).

"And," he said later, "the kid that [sic] told me that I was

kicked off my mission almost got kicked out because he told me" (interview 13-12-92: 2470-2514, 390).

In addition to shunning, other responses to deviance are expressions of family power (see "Celestial Roles," further on). Because men have the Priesthood they may forbid their wives/children to have contact with particular individuals--including close relatives (e.g., interviews 02-12-92: 423-64; 03-11-92: 115; 03-12-92: 380-87; 05-01-93: 1224; 07-01-93: 352-424; 07-01-93: 817-25; 09-01-93: 607, 1566-1606). Husbands appear to rely on these methods to control "rebellious" wives, and to keep their "loyal" wives from "disloyal" influences.

Husbands additionally might "make life miserable" for or act negligent (materially or otherwise) with non-compliant or unfavoured wives (interviews 02-11-92: 2-31, 385-97; 02-12-92: 899-90; 03-12-92: 1675-1741, 2157-63; 13-12-92: 1843-54, 1929-40, 2005-14; 05-01-93: 419-,1232-; 07-01-93: 2485-; 09-01-93: 114-29, 458-712, 1086). Ex-member Jan, for example, alleged that when she was a plural wife her husband, Tim, blamed her for his incompetence during their first sexual encounter. Consequently Tim "left [my bed] and never got in bed with me again, until [the Prophet] LeRoy Johnson ordered him to let me have a child. Which [sic] was almost two years later" (interview 09-01-93: 194-99). Just as another ex-member, Sam, said he thought he had to impregnate his bride in order to make her happy

(interview 04-12-92), so Tim's refusal to impregnate implies a desire to make his wife unhappy--even to slow her spiritual progression.[27]

Just as husbands bestow--or withhold--the gift of pregnancy, so the leaders bestow or withhold the gift of marriage. Ex-members allege that leaders "marry off" deviant members, as a way to "encourage" them "in the Priesthood" (interview 09-01-93: 580). Marriage, especially the addition of a plural wife to an existing monogamous relationship, makes it difficult for members to leave. Indeed, Kanter's survey of nineteenth century utopian communes suggests that non-conventional sexual arrangements--that transfer affections from the group-threatening intimate dyad to the group--facilitate commune survival (Kanter, 1972: 86-9). In the case of a deviant female in Thummim, marriage also relocates authority from her father to her new husband who may restrict undesirable social contacts. Informants claimed, for example, that one college-attending albeit deviant girl suddenly married in the middle of the school year. Supposedly her return to college depended on her new husband's permission (interviews 02-12-92: 562-69, 856-66;

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[27] Given a society where little girls received baby--not doll--clothes for birthdays (and later for graduation) in hopes to become "Mothers of Zion" (interview 01-11-92: 247, 257-71, 650-66; also 07-01-93: 1672-1838), babies--lots of them--are women's greatest rewards. Women believe in starting their mission of eternal reproduction in this life, first supplying numerous "mortal tabernacles" for "spirit children," and then, when beyond the veil, bearing "spirit children" forever (interview 03-12-92: 770).

13-12-92: 1166-88, 1555-1613; also 07-01-93: 1498). His "duty" as a husband is, according to a sermon by the late Prophet Johnson (1980: 1414), to "polish her and teach and train her and bring her along [even though] she may be retarded in some ways."

Celestial Roles

As the husband's prerogative is the governance of the Priesthood, he rightly decides what is "best" for his wife, whose prerogative is her children. All females submit to and, in the words of the late Prophet LeRoy Johnson (1980: 1414) are the "property" of, their fathers or husbands. Even widows and women "released" from their husbands (in a separation they must request from the Prophet) must submit to a Priesthood holder--a father, brother, or son, for example. Remarried women submit to their new husbands "for time," even though their previous husbands purportedly may call them up in the resurrection to reign with them for" eternity." Released (interviews 04-12-92: 497; 07-01-93: 2019) or widowed women quickly remarry in Thummim if they are of childbearing age (up to around age 50).

Infused with the "spirit of peace," plural marriage is supposed to be the most beautiful, harmonious arrangement imaginable (see Short, 1974: 15). Members therefore try to control their feelings (Johnson, 1980: 1553), overcoming their imperfections so that they may live up to and project this ideal image. To complain in this celestial situation--

one in which ex-members cited many examples revealing a hierarchy of wives and their children within different families (interviews 05-01-93: 572; 07-01-93: 2090-2272)--is to "harbour the spirit of the devil." Ex-members claimed, therefore, that unhappy women learn to "grit [their] teeth and bear" the inevitable--but unacknowledged--inequities that occur in such complex family arrangements (interviews 02-11-92: 547-50; 05-01-93: 408-). "There's a lot of tension and conflict but it's kept quiet," said one informant (interview 02-11-92: 543). Indeed, quiet female suffering is a salient theme in the literature on Mormon polygamy. This theme does not represent an anti-Mormon bias, but rather, testifies to the realistic difficulty of living up to the Principle, the immense personal cost women pay in hopes to progress to a glorious afterlife. As Derr (1992: 165) notes:

> The role of the plural wife as collectively understood by Mormon women required both spiritual and emotional suffering, and those who took on the role entered a sisterhood that assumed common aspiration and commiseration.

This foundation for this "sisterhood," as for The Work itself, is sacrifice.

Members deem it a privilege to sacrifice for the Priesthood. "In the latter days," the late Prophet Johnson (1980: 392) had declared, "people should gather around the Priesthood and give their support to the servants of

God...." Supposedly believing that "[t]he Priesthood is God" (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A42), members work hard, accept low wages, and tithe liberally for "God's servants," whom they believe deserve the best. Indeed, the press describes Adam as "wealthy," having businesses and real estate, "seven wives... two planes," and "a silver Cadillac" (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A41, A43; interviews). Other members, however, endure what outsiders would consider adverse conditions. But such conditions--such as poverty, abuse, neglect, little privacy, family stratification (e.g., interview 05-01-93: 340-87)--render the test of faith that much greater, the hoped-for celestial exaltation that much worthier (interviews 02-11-92: 67; 03-12-92: 1278- 1306; 05-01-93: 310-28, 1882; 07-01-93: 1134). "The more we suffer here," one ex-member explained, "the more we reap our rewards in heaven" (interview 07-01-93: 59b).

Family Diversity

Within Thummim, as in other Fundamentalist and pre-manifesto Mormon polygamous communities, there is great variety within families. Just as in pre-manifesto Mormon polygamy, each family negotiates its own sexual, sleeping, eating, work, and residence patterns, and probably its own security or secrecy measures (Embry, 1987).[28] Each family is

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[28] In terms of residence patterns, for example, one family (i.e., one man, all his wives and all their children) may share or have separate living quarters in a variety of arrangements (e.g., sister-wives may live in separate duplexes or compartments, may share with select others,

unique, modifying its patterns with the ongoing needs of additional children or wives, family harmony, and other concerns, at the direction of the Priesthood heads of the family and of the group respectively.

It would be misleading to suggest what a "typical" Fundamentalist family is like--especially given my greater reliance on ex-members than on members. These ex-members rely on their own unhappy experiences and tap into the unhappiness of members within the group, thus negatively biasing many of my examples. Recognizing his own bitter bias, ex-member Larry told me what I would observe if I went to Colorado City:

> But you'd see, you'd see ah, absolute cold shoulders in one situation and just a loving friendship in another. You'd be so damn bumfoozled by the time you left there, you wouldn't know what you were seeing (interview 13-12-92: 643-6; also 02-12-92: 320-31).

Thus both conflict and co-operation may characterize different polygamous families. It is erroneous to conclude that the abuses experienced by ex-members (or the members about whom they speak) are universal in Thummim.

Marriage Practices

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etc). Children typically live with their (biological) mothers but sometimes with an "other mother" (i.e., mother's sister-wife). A polygynist may "rotate" nights with his wives, live predominantly with one wife, or introduce other arrangements. Sometimes teenage boys live together or in separate apartments. In terms of sexual patterns, some wives make "appointments" for sex when they think they can get pregnant (interview 03-12-92: 900-1032).

Thummim's notoriety stems from its "placement" and "plural" marriage practices. In "placement marriage," the Prophet, who visits Thummim about four times a year, and/or the bishop Adam, determine via "divine revelation" which unmarried females will marry which (unmarried or already married) males. Thummim and to a small extent, Colorado City, supply these eligible placements. Since most of Thummim's 450 members have descended from the four original men, and there have been few converts over the years, placements are often cousins, aunts, uncles, and in at least one case a step-father (*City Journal* 27 Sept. 1993: A4; *Province Report* 16 Aug. 1993: 31; Dawson, 27 Sept. 1993: A5; genealogies derived from ex-member informants). Also sororal polygyny is common.

Upon determining the placement, leaders inform the fathers of the prospective couple or the couple themselves. Alternatively, members who are eager to marry may entreat the Prophet to place them with whomever he sees fit, or with a particular person (interview 04-12-92: 153-75).

Although ex-member Kay said it "never occurred" to her to ask (interview 07-01-93: 1309-19), it did occur to Lisa. Like other girls, Lisa worried about her future placement (interviews 03-12-92: 1133, 1485; 13-12-92: 2080-2108). Fearing placement with Ivor whom informants said she "absolutely hated," Lisa asked to marry Ed. But their marriage failed, and upon her "release" from Ed (now an ex-

member), leaders placed her with Ivor (interviews 04-12-92: 256; 05-01-93: 1188; also 13-12-92: 2175-89). In contrast to Lisa's allegedly negative motive, Sandra's motive was positive: she was in love. But witnesses and informants said that when Sandra requested marriage to Tom during an individual appointment with the Prophet, he denigrated her and reduced her to tears. He reportedly yelled, "Do you know that in this Priesthood you do not choose who you should marry?! You are to prepare yourself to go wherever you are told!" (interviews 03-12-92: 2111-13; 07-01-93: 1325-42). After a subsequent, anxious year of "preparing" herself, Sandra gratefully received Tom as her husband (interview 03-12-92: 2071-2116).

Placements appear to be irrecusable (i.e., not to be refused) despite members' claims that they may refuse (interview with ex-member informant 06-12-92: 1292). Ex-members counter that such claims are for the "public" and that refusal would invite ostracism (interviews 13-12-92: 592-604; 02-12-92: 356-70; see Bishop and Bishop, 1972: 63-4)). Available information-- gleaned mostly from ex-members--suggests that despite some women's approval of their appointed spouses (e.g., informant interview 07-01-93: 1273-88), others disliked them. Nevertheless, such women complied and tried to love their spouses (e.g., interviews 03-12-92: 1192; 05-01-93: 1188, 1202; 07-01-93: 1955-74; 09-01-93: 246; Pre-sentence Report, court file no. XXXX: 3; *Canada*

West 16 Sept. 1990: 11, and Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A42). Thus in spite of (ex-member) Shawna's *"hysteri[a]"* upon learning she had to marry a mentally abusive man, she told me she realized "that it was a special mission that the Lord wanted me to do, and that He felt like [sic] I was the one who could do it" (interview 03-12-92: 1280-1321; 09-01-93: 246; also 05-01-93: 893-). Refusing a placement means refusing God's perfect gift which best facilitates progression to godhood. Thus preparation for, rather than refusal of, such gifts is seemly.

The Prophet generally allots females more time than males to "prepare" themselves for marriage. Females usually have a few weeks or months--but Nancy had an unusually long six months to prepare herself for the man who "scared" her (interview 07-01-93: 1955). Males might have a few days or hours between their knowledge and attainment of their brides. In some cases, leaders have placed, officiated, and sealed marriages "on the spot," granting couples no preparation time. It is not uncommon, therefore, for members who travel to Colorado City ostensibly for vacations, to return married (either legally or plurally). Nor is it uncommon for a man who lines up to shake the leaders' hands after church, to find out then whom he has to marry, and to marry her by that evening (interviews 02-11-92:615; 13-12-92: 531-60; 03-12-92: 2145; 13-12-92: 531-90; 05-01-93: 44-144, 769; 06-01-93: 257-291; 07-01-93: 1955-64; 09-01-93:

232).

A female who knows beforehand about her placement may, as Sharon did, "size up" her future husband by staying with his family for a time (interview 07-01-93: 1970). Sharon's future husband and sister-wife were unaware of her placement. When the husband knows, however, he may initiate contact with his prospective plural bride. Such pre-marital contact is the only activity approximating the otherwise "abomina[ble]" Gentile practice of dating (interviews 02-11-92: 307; 06-12-92: 1240).

Since "boy-girl relationships" are "of the greatest concern," according to the school newsletter, strict surveillance of unmarried sexuality is imperative. Thus the *Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter* (1992: 5) states:

> a boy even being alone with a girl without his father's permission and her father's permission is greatly improper and can constitute grounds for expulsion. *This includes 'dating' after and away from school* (emphasis original).

The newsletter (1992: 2, 5-6) further mandates, "[m]arriages by appointment by revelation should be the desire of all parents for their children that [sic] attend this school." Submission to such appointed marriages starts relatively early in this society.

For a first marriage, females typically marry between the ages of 15-18 and males, between 18-22, but in theory

there are no lower or upper limits, just as there are no limits on numbers of wives (interviews 06-12-92: 734-39; 02-12-92: 594; 03-12-92: 2145; 04-12-92: 156-58; 13-12-94: 2915; 05-01-93: 911, 1929; 06-01-93: 517-20; 07-01-93: 1019-23, 1275, 1435). Although women remain monogamous, some men also remain monogamous--albeit potentially polygynous--for several years. Fear of prosecution warrants members' caution about revealing numbers of wives. Nevertheless, an ex-member source indicates that most men have 1-3 wives. The most prominent have 5-7 (known) wives. Eighty five year old Prophet Rulon Jeffs supposedly has 30 wives. One such wife is a 17 year old Thummim girl (Dawson, 26 Sept. 1993: A42-43) whose family held a week long celebration honouring the union--the first (known) time a Canadian has married a FLDS Prophet (ex-member conversation). Marriage to such a high-ranking Priesthood holder is a great honour--which is also why 16 year old Isabel, now an ex-member, requested marriage to a previous bishop who had several wives (see Cannon 1990: 121).

Legal marriages, which are a male's first to his first wife, may be formally and openly celebrated. Sometimes these legal couples have a public civic ceremony in the Gentile realm, in a rented church or public park, for example, with a Justice of the Peace officiating. Several guests may attend the festive occasion and attendant wedding shower (interviews 04-12-92: 153-252; 13-12-92: 2808). Plural

marriages, in contrast, are not accompanied with such festivity--except for later baby showers that acknowledge the union (interview 06-12-92: 685-709).

Both legal and plural marriages receive divine sanction in a secret ceremony wherein the Prophet "seals" the partners in marriage. In Thummim these secret marriage ceremonies occur in an office, the bedroom occupied by the visiting Prophet, or perhaps another undisclosed place the Prophet chooses[29] (interviews 05-01-93: 44-144; 09-01-93: 268-303). Group ceremonies--often held at graduation---enable several couples to be married at once (interviews 13-12-92: 2895-2905; 09-01-93: 226, 284-).

Only select witnesses, including the Prophet and certain leaders with one each of their wives, know about and attend the secret marriage ceremonies (interview 05-01-93: 44-144, 902). Ex-member Nancy, one of Thummim's first plural brides, recalled her wedding that only her parents knew about--even though they did not attend the ceremony for fear of having to lie if police questioned them. In other cases leaders have conspired to keep potential opponents of a marriage uninformed of their hastily accomplished marriages. They conspired, for example, with 15 year old Karen and her brothers in order to keep Karen's "rebellious" mother away

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[29] Cannon (1990) did not know where members got married and acknowledged that it was secret--but the reader does not know whether it was secret just from her or from other members as well.

from the scene of her marriage ceremony. The excited Karen colluded with this Priesthood plan (but upon recent reflection, saw herself as a "sacrificial lamb on the alter") (interview 02-11-92: 419, 601-19; Cunningham, 1 Oct. 1990: 53). Then Karen fled with her 55 year old husband of several wives to another province. The couple immediately returned, however, upon Karen's mother's discovery and her threats to call police (interview 05-01-93: 893-942). Soon afterwards, then-Prophet LeRoy Johnson (1980: 398) preached about Karen's situation, rhetorically asking, "Is this [mother] hindering the advancement of the Celestial Law of Abraham?" Ex-members said that maternal resistance to such clandestine marriages is relatively uncommon (interview 02-11-92: 427, 619).

Marriage ceremonies "seal" a union "by the Holy Spirit of Promise." These ceremonies include vows to "obey" the husband, and to "multiply and replenish." In a sometimes practised ritual called the "Law of Sarah," Fundamentalists re-enact the Old Testament story about Abraham's barren wife, Sarah, who gave him a slave woman (*D&C* 132: 32-34). In this ritual a senior wife gives the plural wife to the husband using the masonically derived "patriarchal grip" (a type of handshake) (interview 05-01-93: 44-144).

Sometimes the "Law of Sarah" is omitted in the ceremony because the senior wife may be unaware of her husband's plural marriage. Joseph Smith himself rationalized--and

practised--such secrecy, especially if the senior wife did not accept plural marriage (*D&C* 132: 65) Indeed, when Nancy (now an ex-member) became Philip's plural wife, he pleaded with her to keep it a secret. Philip knew that his legal wife, who was a Mormon like himself, would disapprove. Philip and Nancy kept the marriage secret for several months, an easy task because the wives lived in different provinces. Once the legal wife knew, however, she accepted Nancy--although she remained stoic and never talked about it (interviews 06-12-92: 470, 1176; 07-01-93: 2382-2418).

Plural marriages are downplayed and may remain secretive. The husband, for example, does not necessarily spend the wedding day or night with his plural bride (interviews 05-01-93: 44-144; 09-01-93: 262-72). During Thummim's founding years, he would steal into his plural wife's bedroom late at night and have a secret, sexual relationship with her. Referring to her polygynist husband who lived in another town, Nancy said: "He'd come up, ostensibly for the Priesthood meeting ... [E]ventually he'd end up, in my room. But it was like, *no one ever knew*" --no one, that is, except Nancy's parents who colluded to let their "son-in-law" into their house. Nancy said that three years later, after which she had her first child and moved into her own house, people thought she was a "single mother." The family successfully had kept this "big dark secret" from other community members and from Nancy's

siblings (interview 07-01-93: 2384-96)--just as Nancy's own parents had concealed their polygyny.

When Nancy was a child, her parents had fabricated an explanation for their accumulation of extra children. Nancy recalled her uncontained excitement when she was eight years old and her parents finally told her in strict confidence that the purportedly abandoned children whom they looked after were sired by her father--and thus were her siblings. The children's mother, Nancy learned, was her aunt and not the poor, blind woman about whom she had been told (interview 07-01-93: 902-46). Although such children of plural, illegal unions took their mother's surnames,[30] they acknowledged their father as their spiritual head. Upon learning the family secret, such children accepted their "other mothers" (i.e., a mother's sister-wives) and half-siblings as part of their celestial family.

The community collectively supports Priesthood-determined plural marriages upon their discovery. This discovery might be ascertained from a woman's residential and social relocation to another family network and her noticeable obedience to another man, if not her open admission that she is a plural wife. Indeed, plural marriage

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[30] Like the children of other plural wives to this day, Nancy's children assumed her surname (i.e., her maiden name--e.g., interview 07-01-93: 982). Sometimes plural wives and their sons legally change their surnames to those of their husbands or fathers (interviews 06-12-92; 06-12-93: 318-24). Ex-member Helen said that males sometimes change their surnames to that of the "chosen" family.

probably reveals itself much earlier than Nancy's examples of long-time secret-keeping would suggest (interview 06-12-92: 1170). Nancy's examples refer to Thummim's early decades (interview 02-11-92: 601-13) when threats of LDS ex-communication and the Principle's survival exacerbated secrecy. But by now the few remaining Church members have received ex-communications. Moreover, the Work has grown to the point where it truly is "impossible" to "stamp out" as Mountie Corporal Bolderson had forewarned in 1899 (see "Secret Polygyny in Canada" in chapter two).

Chapter 4: Fieldwork I: Discovering the Theme of Secrecy

This chapter documents my embodied "discovery" of secrecy within Thummim. During this discovery and later fieldwork I comprehended only fragments of the context in which I was submerged. The heretofore description pieced together this context and may serve as a lens to analyze the individually entangled strands of secrecy. The following presentation of my fieldwork, in contrast, presents some of these strands in their chronological entanglement. This chronology is a reconstruction derived from my fieldnotes and related recollections (since I did not at the time write down many things that I felt or thought).

Entry Negotiations

I first met Adam, the bishop of Thummim, in the summer of 1991. I accompanied my father who came on the premise of business, to Adam's business headquarters located in the local town of Timber (16 km from Thummim). Adam took charge of the situation once he saw us. He seemed warm and open as he showed us his newest business--a grocery store--located next door. My father complimented the store, conducted his business, and agreed with Adam about the values of co-operation, hard work, and no T.V.

During this casual talk, I asked Adam's permission to conduct a master's thesis study on Thummim. He needed to check, he said, with his "supervisor" but advised me to focus on "religion" instead of "family" as I had suggested.

(I deemed this advice strange as the topics overlapped.) Yet Fundamentalists' cloistered tendencies and the puzzling, scanty literature fragmented my understanding.[31] Thus I directed my subsequent sociological focus on "identity," a topic that I thought would illuminate Fundamentalist religion. My focus continued to shift, however, during the course of the fieldwork, because of what I considered to be methodological difficulties in accessing credible data.

Initially, the main methodological difficulty appeared to be Thummim members' notorious suspicion of outsiders, a suspicion that paradoxically intensified my commitment to studying the group. I knew, for example, that I was advantaged to gain members' trust--since I had grown up near Thummim and my social network included acquaintances of Thummim members and ex-members. Nevertheless, I expected trust-building to be a challenge. Consequently, I derived a back-up plan to interview ex-members, and early in the research I befriended ex-member Nancy, who was to be my key informant.

During the year I wrote to Adam. Having received no

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[31] As inter-library loan supplied most of the available literature on Fundamentalists, I had to wait for requests to arrive, and make ongoing requests upon finding relevant bibliographic references. Initially, therefore, I had very little literature. Perhaps these same research delays prevented other researchers (e.g., Cannon, 1990) of Mormon polygamy from obtaining the available, relevant literature. Indeed, much of the research fails to examine this confusing, unorganized literature.

reply, I returned to his headquarters in June, 1992. Because Adam was not there, I spoke to the four office workers. My fieldnotes record the conversation as follows:

> I said that I was here in January and that Adam had told me I could do a study on the Thummim community. When I said this, the teenaged girl was visibly taken back--maybe she felt threatened. [All but Mary] were quiet and did not say anything. They just stared at me like I was an alien. My assertiveness contrasted their passivity. When people are passive you don't know what they are thinking; you don't know how hard to push. I said that I was from the University of Alberta, that the man who was just in here was my dad, and that I grew up here (fieldnotes 04-06-92:1).

I took advantage of Adam's absence and talked to 35 year old Mary. I remembered her from before as having emerged from an initial shell of suspicion to express curiosity about the study and to tell me about a paper she had written on "celestial marriage."[32]

Again Mary's curiosity emerged. Thus I explained my study, justifying my fieldwork plans--i.e., interviews and participant observation with members--by referring to the concept of identity. "I want to understand," I said, "the mindset of Mormon Fundamentalists--how they view themselves, their group, and the world. I want to know what it's like to be a Mormon Fundamentalist" (fieldnotes 04-06-92: 2). Although Mary seemed impressed she cautioned--just as Adam would--that others would be "leery" and admonished me not to

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[32] Unfortunately, this paper had been destroyed in a house fire.

act like a "reporter." Realizing my desire to participate in Thummim, she lamented, "too bad you missed our school-end party." (School, she said, goes for longer hours so that children may get off earlier for summer.) "Is there anything coming up?" I asked. "No," she said.

By this time Mary and I were seated in her private office where she described Thummim life in glowing terms, emphasizing its members' sexual morality. She justified, for example, the dress code on the basis that female modesty is important to "our people," and stressed that the school forbids premarital sex. Mary distinguished Mormon polygamy--"taking care of and loving our spouses,"--from the "loose morals of the world," where, she alleged, "people sleep around with all kinds, all the time, taking no responsibility" (fieldnotes 04-06-92: 2-3). In addition to noting this irony of monogamous society, she commented on the irony of publicity, in the context of a discussion of the law. "We don't deny our religion and never did," she claimed. "All that publicity about polygamy being discovered is funny. We never were hidden" (fieldnotes 04-06-92:2-4). I wanted Mary to know that I was serious about this research (and I also was worried about members' practices) so I mentioned the LeBaron group. She then said that Thummim members do not believe in blood atonement.[33]

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[33] Ervil LeBaron's "Lambs of God" murdered at least twenty people in response to LeBaron's "revelations." The shedding of blood is imperative, according to the doctrine

Mary and I continued our conversation the next morning while I waited for a scheduled appointment with Adam. She probed about the research, asking what it will "accomplish" for me, and, more directly: "So, Marla, what is your plan of attack?" I told her about possible career options, sociology, and ethical issues, as well as my methodological "plan." Then she told me about some of the group's previous experiences with "reporters." Some "feminist" reporters, she alleged, could not believe that Thummim women were happy. She said one such reporter from a distant city said, "I didn't come all this way to hear how happy you were!" and then reported that she was not allowed to speak to the women. Mary further alleged that a woman's group refused to meet with Thummim women who were "positive about our life." But Mary told me that she could see I was "completely different" than the media. Just as Adam walked by, she complimented the open-ended interview guide I showed her.

A baby was sleeping on a bench in Adam's office where Mary beckoned me to go and where Adam sat behind a huge desk.

> I brought my loaded briefcase in with me and asked if I could tape-record our conversation so that I could

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of blood atonement, for those who commit sins of apostasy and adultery. (See "Personal Accounts" under "Material Pertaining to Fundamentalists," and "Origins: John Taylor (etc.)," both in chapter two.)

> remember everything.[34] This spurred a lecture on the 38 to 40 reporters who walked around with tape recorders and note pads, and ended up taking Thummim residents' lives out of context. He discussed how I would fail in this project if I walked around as a "tape recorder-carrying, thesis hunter;" I must come across as being personally (not just academically) interested in their religion. A thesis project is not enough to win our hearts and confidence, he indicated. Furthermore, Adam said that at first I must not hand out the release forms that I showed him when I told him about my intended ethical behaviour (confidentiality, privacy, pseudonyms, etc.) Adam talked about how "our life cannot be learned by reading books," and that it must be lived, experienced, and believed. He stressed this.

Adam continued to talk, indicating his expectation of my role.

> He told me he had been thinking about my project since our first interview (last summer), and that he had discussed with his "supervisor"[35] what they should do. "We don't proselite [sic]," he emphasized.... "You won't get anything, I guarantee, unless you become friends with these women. You have to attend meeting [sic], go to church and to social gatherings, in order to win the confidence of our people," and [then] "the women will tell you the pros and the cons, the positive and the negative, once you become friends." [Dangling a key before me, he] said, "that's the key." He repeated the "key" idea throughout the discussion (fieldnotes Fri. 05-06-92: 2).
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> ...
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> I said that I wanted to be involved and that I was glad he was opening the door for me to be involved. <I actually had begun to think that the doors were closing

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[34] I already was surprised that Adam had agreed to the study, so I thought I'd see how much leeway he would permit. But a conflict tacitly arose between his idea of the study and mine.

[35] This "supervisor" must have been the Prophet, as he is the only person to whom Adam is accountable.

> up on me, that participant observation was out of the question. Now I know that it's the "key" to gaining trust--as I already knew--and that it could lead to insightful data>.... I said, however, that I don't want to be superficial and pretend I'm something that I'm not (fieldnotes Fri. 05-06-92: 3).

I indicated my willingness to forego tape-recording and interviews and to participate in events and the dress code that Adam had also stressed. Remembering, however, other researchers' experiences (e.g., Gordon, 1972; Horowitz, 1986), I emphasized my research goals and said that I did not want to come across as being a "potential convert." Adam told me I had to be or at least look like one, and mandated my "personal, genuine interest" in "our holy religion" (fieldnotes Fri. 05-06-92: 3). He lent me several volumes of the *Journal of Discourses (JD)* and the *Doctrine and Covenants (D&C)* to facilitate this interest. Like other qualitative researchers (e.g., Humphreys, 1970), I was "personally interested" in what I was studying--even if it was not the kind of "personal interest" (i.e., in converting) Adam intimated.

Adam expressed concern, not only about my "personal interest" but also about my marital, maternal, and religious statuses--so that, he said, he would know what to tell people. Although currently religiously 'detached,' I indicated my conservative Christian background. I was a 25 year old married, childless woman, and thus, an anomaly in Thummim where virtually all women my age were married and

had up to ten children. Adam enquired about my husband's religion and indicated his preference that he accompany me--even though my husband's employment and the geographical distance of our residence rendered his ongoing involvement impossible.

In the background Mary was singing. Finally she bounced into the room and jubilantly asked Adam, "Can we have an anniversary dance for the eight couples?" Looking at me she said, "Then Marla can come!' She laughed as she described the dances--how Adam stops everyone on the dance floor so he can learn the steps, and how the women prepare an abundance of food for the festivity (fieldnotes Fri. 05-06-92: 4). Soon we were all laughing, and Adam appeared to agree, if less enthusiastically, to the dance.

Mary returned to her work and I asked Adam what I should do. He replied, "nothing until Sunday," when, he said, he would introduce me at church--a legitimation that I hoped would facilitate the friendship we both apparently wanted. Although Adam told me that the church was "open" to outsiders, he then advised me to arrive early so members "don't stare" (the same reaction Mary had told me I would receive if I wore jeans). Adam complained that people including Thummim members are too dependent on their leaders and he emphasized that true religion was searching things out for oneself (fieldnotes 05-06-92: 3). Upon leaving his office, I casually mentioned to Mary that I planned to go to

church but she halted her paperwork, turned a pale grey, and told me I could if Adam said it was okay.

> She didn't know that he had told me that anyone can come. Funny. Adam creates an illusion for me that it's a free society. Members, however, won't make a move until he rubber stamps it (fieldnotes Sun. 07-06-92: 1).

My and Christine's First Sunday in Thummim

Since the church purportedly was "open," my married, childless 21 year old sister, Christine, accompanied me the first day. As I did whenever I ventured into Thummim or Adam's business office, both of us wore modest, loose-fitting dresses that concealed calves, forearms, and necklines. Upon arriving at the church and stepping out of my car, a fine-featured 35 year old woman, Eve, greeted us and said we could sit with her. Eve introduced herself as Adam's wife. Although Eve was quiet and her conversation circumspect, she hospitably showed us around the huge red barn that members converted to both a high school and church. In the main auditorium where church was held, four hundred stacking chairs were arranged in three rows. About 100 people, mostly women and children, attended this service. "I didn't see one man with [more than one] wi[f]e[]," I noted later (fieldnotes Sun. 07-06-92: 2). "The pattern seemed to be one man with one woman," and most of the seating was sex-segregated with boys on one side and girls on the other. (But the following Sundays would boast

up to 400 people, with a higher proportion of men than this time, with more women sitting with each man, and with no apparent sex-segregation.) Baby smells permeated the air and the sounds of infant crying and cooing blended with the congregation's melodious hymns about Zion.

After we sat down, Adam stood at the podium and announced--amidst the baby sounds--that they just had (secondary school) graduation. He called several graduates by name, to the podium to express their gratitude. Most said they were thankful for their fathers and one girl said she would not have graduated if it wasn't for Ivan, the principal. After these testimonials, Adam preached a sermon "for our guests." Yet Christine and I appeared to be the only non-Fundamentalist 'guests'--whom members including Adam thoroughly ignored even though Adam had promised the day before to introduce me. Except for the littlest children who stared curiously at us, no one else, it seemed, dared to look.

Adam preached on the history of the Mormons. Adam already told me some of this history on Friday since I had enquired about Fundamentalist history. But this time he raised his voice and sounded even more infuriated.

> He discussed how the Mormons were persecuted right from the start, how they were living "good clean lives." He emphasized that those who thought the Mormons were immoral were themselves and were "wretched," "disgusting," etc. Adam continued to stress the immorality/morality of non-believers/LD Saints. He talked about Brigham Young, and Johnson's Army, and how

> the Army brought in "prostitutes!!!" and said to the LDS that they could have as many women as they wanted as long as they didn't call them their wives. Adam expressed disgust about this (indicated by his tone of voice, etc.). He emphasized that LDS (men) took responsibility for their families, etc.

Adam further preached that there is "objective" evidence for Mormonism, such as the urim and thummim, the seeing stones with which Joseph Smith purportedly translated the Book of Mormon. Then, after more preaching and the final blessing, Christine and I unknowingly experienced a Fundamentalist ritual--one in which I would participate every Sunday after church.

> After church everyone got up and huddled toward the front [stage]. Christine and I had no idea what was happening. Then we saw that people were lined up to the front stage where they shook hands with [the leaders]. [We followed suit and lined up with them.] I introduced myself to some people when we were standing in line. No one came up to us initiating any sort of introductions .... When Ivan [a leader] shook Christine's hand, he said, "Marla ?" indicating he knew I was coming. I told Adam that I enjoyed his sermon. None of these three men said anything to me. Christine and I headed toward the door. We didn't know what to do (fieldnotes Sun. 07-06-92: 4).

We waited around hoping for more contact, but finding none we concluded we had overstayed as "guests." We thanked Eve and walked to my car. Eve then approached us and reluctantly invited us for dinner with her family, i.e., Adam, his six wives and all their children, as well as two Fundamentalist couples from Colorado City.

We accepted the invitation, hoping a more casual

environment would ease the tension we thought our presence had induced. Indeed, everyone except Adam had appeared emotionless, avoiding, and unnatural in church. Even at Adam's home, however, Eve remained guarded and her five sister-wives ignored us. (I was confused about the dinner invitation in the first place, especially after seeing that the wives ignored us. I assumed that Adam would have told them we were okay--since he permitted my entry. Since I had lived near Thummim all my life, I assumed that members knew that I knew of and accepted their polygamy. Because the group is so reserved, I did not even know that marriage was secretive within the group. Thus I attributed members' ignoring behaviours mostly to their distrust of, and disinterest in, *outsiders*. The dinner invitation heightened, but the ignoring behaviours dampened, my hopes for acceptance.) A five year old girl, however, acted thrilled and showed us her doll as we stirred gravy in preparation for a humble chicken dinner. In contrast to his disinterested, avoiding wives, Adam conveyed congeniality through telling his son to show us "the bear" photos. These photos depicted Adam lassoing a bear while riding a horse.

Adam's radical personality shift--from angry aloof preacher to happy-go-lucky champion--lasted throughout the meal. During the meal, he laughed and joked freely while talking to an older male guest. Yet for a table of about twenty, the atmosphere was stiflingly devoid of conversation

other than Adam's. Instead of talking amongst themselves, the women contributed the odd giggle or hushed phrase to the conversation. Otherwise they remained silent, seemingly strained, while neglecting their two female guests from Colorado City. Christine and I, too, remained awkward, unacknowledged guests. No one had introduced us even though Adam had shown us where to sit--"quite a ways down the table from Adam," I recorded. I sat by a blushing teenaged girl who, like us, seemed self-consciously mute and vaguely out-of-place as she pasted her eyes on the table.[36]

> Near the end of the meal Adam asked, "do we have any toothpicks?" and one wife immediately got up to get some to place in front of him. As he rose from the table, Adam, who was holding a baby, winked and said, "Tonight it's really the men's turn to do the dishes, but we'll let the women do them." .... Some of the women half-chuckled at Adam's comment (fieldnotes 07-06-92: 5).

As Christine and I helped with the dishes, two sororal sister wives suddenly initiated a short conversation. "Not to offend you or anything," one of them said, "but how old are you?" We both replied ("25" and "21") and after more questions we said we were married and childless. (I laughingly said I was "fruitless" but no one else laughed.) They told us the ages of Adam's six wives, all of whom they claimed were above 20. Then,

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[36] I found out later she was 16 year old Misty, who was staying with the family, Eve had told me, to go to school. Eventually she became Adam's seventh wife.

> When we were done the dishes we migrated to the [huge] living room where everyone else was. No one explicitly invited us, however.... Adam had been singing almost ever since he left the table.

Strumming his guitar as he sat on a chair in the centre of the room, Adam sang several country love songs and yodelled to entertain his Colorado City guests and family members. We all encircled him on couches, chairs, and the floor, and a boy and some women quietly played with the babies that Adam had sired. A mesmerizing performer, Adam seemed to revel in everyone's undivided attention (or "boredom" according to Christine's counter observations). His ten year old daughter beamed while singing a chorus line with him. The words were about coming back for a love who was "too young." Such fun and romantic songs, Christine and I noted later, seemed paradoxically scandalous given Adam's professions of sexual restraint when in church. I felt strongly that Adam was "a god sitting in the middle of his domestic kingdom," but equally strongly, that Christine and I were intruding. After dozens of songs we finally left, with Eve escorting us back to my car (fieldnotes Sun. 07-06-92: 6).

Working in Thummim

My constant requests to help work in Thummim paid off during the following weeks. Eve sometimes invited me to help weed the sister-wives' huge gardens and to prepare and serve lunch to a work crew of forty well-behaved boys. She reciprocated my help by lending me sermons, touring me

around the community, and inviting me for more work--an invitation being the appropriate way to enter this privacy-loving community. Eve remained wary, however. Sometimes she nervously asked for my "views" of Thummim. I typically responded that life seemed different in Thummim and that I could see a lot of good.

Eve's sister-wives were equally taciturn. Most avoided and expressed no interest in me. When we were weeding, for example, they never looked to see if I followed when they moved to another garden. They rarely acknowledged my arrival--but then, they failed to acknowledge or converse much with each other, either. I did not know whether my presence, wives' jealousy and tension amongst themselves,[37] or the normative environment of reserve that I had observed in church prompted this restraint. The wives' four and five year old daughters contrasted this restraint by bringing me dandelions, daisies, and shells, and shouting and waving "hello" and "goodbye, Marla!"

While weeding carrots one morning, I conversed with a

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[37] An outsider informant, for example, remembered conversing with some of the children of polygamous parents. He asked if the different mothers in one family ever fight and the children responded that they did not--as they did not even speak to each other. Later Mary told me that her strategy for problematic sister-wives is to "give them more space," and thus maintain interpersonal distance. Anthropological research suggests that avoidance phenomena amongst co-wives is common in polygamous societies (LeVine, 1962, cited in Altman, 1977: 80).

sister-wife named Grace, who told me she was from Colorado City. Intrigued, I asked how she ended up marrying Adam and moving to Thummim. She was quiet so I rephrased the question. Finally, she blurted, "that's one thing we don't talk about!" (fieldnotes Mon. 08-06-92: 3). I apologized but she clammed up and moved to the other side of the garden. As my mere presence seemed to offend, I withdrew in accordance with the Mormon motto, "mind your own business," that I had read on computerized banners inside the church/school. The deep chasm I sensed between my world and the members' would have to be crossed slowly and carefully so I tried constructing a bridge of empathy. I expressed empathy, for example, to two sister-wives who disclosed how difficult it was to attend a secular college away from home. I also remained silent and let the wives talk to me if they wanted. Sometimes when we worked they warmed up to me. Two sister wives, for example, complimented my reddish hair colour and others asked how I stay "skinny" (fieldnotes 09-06-92: 2-3).

My Second Sunday

On Sunday, June 14, 1992, about 200 people arrived for church. Adam preached on recent publicity about polygamy. Understanding that charges of polygamy violate the Constitution under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Adam claimed that the charges against two Canadian polygamists were dropped--a "victory" over "our enemies." He said Justice Minister Kim Campbell extends rights to gays and

lesbians, but that it is "such a big deal" to do the same with people who live their "holy religion." Adam decried the media. Then he admonished believers to be clean-minded and family members (children and wives) not to meddle in each others' affairs. He exhorted the congregation to think about holy things, and to mind their own business.

Adam said something about prestige and how women should be attracted to that. Furthermore,

> He talked about how wives in Joseph Smith's time didn't want their husbands to take other wives. "Why shouldn't they?" he declared. "Because of jealousy, they say. Big deal! They have got to learn to live harmoniously with each other.... Men are the most jealous race of people I know and women are better able to deal with it." He continued, "Because they won't be able to spend time with their husbands. This is not so..." but then he didn't explain why. Then he said something about "bedroom scenes," and how it's foolish for us to think about that, etc. (fieldnotes Sun. 14-06-92: 2).

Adam rhetorically asked how "we" are different from the Bible and answered by saying "we" are not. He said he felt sorry for Christians. Jesus was crucified, Adam preached, because he had such a great following of women. (Fundamentalists believe that Jesus and John were polygynists [see Truth 19 9, Feb. 1954: 262-74].) Adam then continued last Sunday's "history of Mormonism" theme. He preached about the manifesto and John Taylor's decree that not one year should pass but that children are born into polygamous marriage. He also preached about the unsuccessful post-manifesto attempts of Talmage, an LDS leader, to

expurgate section 132 (i.e., the definitive polygamy doctrine) from the Doctrine and Covenants. After the service, people--including two of Adam's particularly reserved wives--acted friendlier to me, friendliness in this context meaning they were more likely to acknowledge, smile at, or say "hello." I attributed this show of warmth more to members' "victory" over their persecuting "enemies" as Adam just preached on, than to my own, unpredictable, trust-building attempts. Even Adam's young wife, Niva, accepted a car ride to her doorstep although she visibly shook as she stepped in.

> She was nervous. We exchanged "how are you?"s and she said something about "feeling fat" and then "September" so I said, "oh really? That's nice!" concluding that she must be pregnant (fieldnotes 14-06-92: 4).

I hoped that my interpretation was correct and my response appropriate as she quietly stepped out onto her doorstep.

Member Mary

The following week I continued to help work, attended a music recital, and arranged to see Mary, the curious one from before. As Mary previously had told me about "feminists" who thought Thummim women were oppressed and unhappy, I asked her what makes Thummim women happy.

> Although initially nervous, Mary brought me into her office. She was very talkative--non-stop.... She started off telling me she has the "spirit of peace" and that's what makes everyone in Thummim and herself happy. She stressed how "wonderful" LDSism, the Prophets, and the Principle of Plural Marriage are....

> <<She bubbled over with the word, "wonderful," and she laughed and smiled. She does seem like an incredibly happy person; her optimistic, simple happiness was contagious, and I found myself smiling and laughing throughout her spiel>> (fieldnotes Wed. 06-17a-92:1)

Mary told me that she loves plural and placement marriage, although she candidly admitted to having experienced abuse by a previous husband. She told me about this previous marriage of hers. But she said she would not talk about the number of wives in her current, "wonderful" marriage--just as she advised me that others would not tell how many wives they had.

Mary told me about her "dream" to reproduce eternally--"that would just be heaven for me." She also expressed sincere faith in the group's marriage practices. She said:

> I know that God talks through the Prophets and then to us. I know that a lot of people don't believe that but I know it's true. I know a lot of people criticize us for the Principle of Placement Marriage [the practice whereby the Prophet tells people who to marry]. But I know it's right. If you have a problem with that the Prophet will consider your request and won't make you marry that person.

I knew Mary's statement contradicted an ex-member Harriet's personal experience in which the Prophet did not accommodate Harriet's wishes to have more time to "prepare" herself for a placement who frightened her. Mary seemed to contradict herself, too. Although bubbly while I interviewed her, for example, she was forlorn and distant when I saw her during the evening's music recital. At church, too, she never

acknowledged me, thus heightening my suspicion and disappointing my initial hope that she would be an ideal insider informant.[38]

Such contradictions, the methodological problems of members' distrust, reserve, and extreme idealism, and my failure to obtain a daily role in Thummim rendered questionable the quality of my data on identity. I therefore phoned an ex-member informant named Nancy and she immediately invited me over. Failing, however, to follow my predetermined plan to drive someone else's vehicle or solicit a ride, I drove my car (the same car I drove to Thummim) to Nancy's where I stayed for several hours.[39] This spontaneous act was a grave methodological mistake--with illuminating consequences, nonetheless.

My Third Sunday

The next day, Sunday, June 21, 1992 (Father's Day) I arrived for a packed church of 400 people. Eve, who as usual

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[38] Several months later I obtained information about Mary that helped me assess her credibility. Dubbed "the biggest fake that ever lived!!," "good at play acting," and an "expert liar" by ex-members who claimed that she at one time wanted to leave the group (interviews 02-11-92: 515-528; 03-12-92: 668-800-810), Mary allegedly suffers from clinical depression (see interview 09-01-93: 1471). In addition, a judge deemed her "inclined to exaggerate or fabricate" (p. 21) events to which she testified at a sex abuse trial. The judge deemed her testimony non-credible (Sept. 16, 1991. *Reasons for Judgement,* Timber Registry court file no. XXXX: 14-21).

[39] I still was somewhat ignorant of the extent of members' hostility towards ex-member "apostates" since I knew that the latter had contact with the former.

sat with me, seemed particularly friendly to me--probably, I thought, because she knew I was leaving town the following day. The initial part of the service was dedicated to fathers--as it was Father's Day. Then Adam admonished believers to be clean-minded and to refrain from adulterous and evil thoughts, and he condemned romances and soap operas as making women jealous. Then he preached against the media--how it fails to tell the truth.

> He yelled and said that he was sick of the media and yelled something like, "to hell with them!" He said, "we don't want them here; we don't want people looking at our lives; we want them to leave! I'm sick of it!" He used very strong words.... <Was he thinking about me, too? Does he want me to drop it? Or is he doing this so I can consider this [media persecution] in my study? He's a showman and uses his temper to instill fear and reinforce existing 'psychic boundaries' between insiders and outsiders> (fieldnotes Sun. 21-06-92: 2).

> Adam was really worked up. He was harsh and raised his voice during the "meeting." He asked something like, "How can you learn about the Mormon fundamentals if you go to a dissident? An apostate!!" He was mad and his face was red. "God forbid!" he exclaimed, "that someone would go outside to find out about us!!" He said that the media tended to do just that. Reporters would go to dissidents.... Adam asked if you'd go to a prostitute to find out about virtue. "No," he exclaimed, "what do they know about virtue? They can't understand how two women could love one man and love each other as well." <Maybe he was talking to me. Maybe he--or someone--saw my car at [ex-member] Nancy's last night...>(fieldnotes Sun. 21-06-92: 2-3).

> Adam said that reporters will look and look to find out that one day you were a little jealous....He admonished people to keep their "secrets" about when they were/are jealous, etc. He basically said that you should not talk about them ("secrets") and "then they'll (jealousies etc.) go away."

> Adam said that a lot of people/reporters say that "we"

> are "sexist." Then he went on to say that "someone has to lead!" If the man doesn't his wife (or wives ?) will. He said that a lot of women have problems with this and want to lead. He went on about men who are careless and don't show their wives that they are the leader--or that their wives need them or they need their wives (??) or something like that. He said that a woman can find out she doesn't need her husband ... <a little confusing...>. Then he said that today isn't Father's Day, "it's mother's day! ... and it couldn't be any other way with so many women around here" (fieldnotes Sun. 21-06-92: 3).
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> Then Abraham [the former bishop whom Adam succeeded and whom ex-members claim hates Adam] carried on the theme about women being submissive to men. He said that the husband and father of a woman is her leader... and that she must--in order to enter celestial glory--submit to him.

After Abraham reinforced Adam's sermon, we sang a song about "pushing ahead." Finally Ivan, who faithfully records the sermons every Sunday from atop of the stage--and who is also known (to ex-members) for his loyalty to Adam--raised his right hand and blessed the congregation "in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."

Then we filed up to the front, and shook hands with Ivan and Adam. Adam said, "hi Marla" when I shook his hand.

> <He seemed pretty tense but it's hard to say. I think he intentionally used scare tactics so that I would refrain from talking to dissidents. I don't know. I'm not saying that that part was necessarily for me....>

Some people smiled at me as I left but others who were walking said they preferred to walk when I offered them a ride. It was difficult to know their perception of me--and how they interpreted that unnerving sermon. I wondered if I

was merely paranoid by thinking Adam meant the sermon for me. After all, the sermon explicitly targeted an identifiable group, the media, and not academics. Indeed, during our first meeting Adam had told me that he loved and wanted to emulate Brigham Young's preaching because it was so "practical" (fieldnotes 05-06-92: 3). On my second Sunday:

> Adam said that he'll preach a Brigham Young sermon, and then he looked at the children and told them to be clean, and he said the same thing, pretty much, to their parents: "Clean your house! Eat healthy!" and "Provide the necessities for your children," etc. "That's how Brigham would talk," he said (fieldnotes Sun. 14-06-92: 3).

A "Brigham Young" interpretation therefore seemed straightforward. Indeed, Adam had been and assumably would be frank with me. I initially had told him, for example, to tell me if my behaviour was ever inappropriate and he had responded that he would even if I did not tell him.

Reformulating the Problem

The next day as I left Timber Valley for the distant city of Edmonton, I dropped off a gift of fruit and a personal thank-you note at Adam's office. I did not see him, however, as he was occupied. Once in Edmonton, I examined my data from a theoretical focus on identity. The data revealed that members had strong insider-outsider boundaries with great hostility to apostates, reporters, and especially persecutors. Members had, moreover, a strong group identity

stemming from their ideological views. But in terms of individual identities, I knew they could not trust me enough to convey the complexity of identifying with and trying to live what I later came to know as "The Work."

There were too many unanswered questions, especially about the actual practice of marriage which was central to member identity but about which they seemed particularly protective. Members successfully had conveyed the ideology, or pieces of it, but the reality--how they lived when I wasn't there--evaded me. Members' reluctance to discuss their current marriages in concrete detail, their restrained interpersonal environment, and their paranoia about people looking at their lives (i.e., "reporters"), posed problems. Exacerbating these problems were my inability to interpret, with confidence, the possibly veiled language of the sermons and the general ambiguity in relationships, events and practices. Consequently, trust-building was a mystery.

The information I obtained from my ex-member informant, Nancy, made me particularly uneasy about the quality of some of my participant-observation data. Like other ex-members--some of whom claimed that members "play-acted" a "fantasy," for me--Nancy was surprised that Adam permitted the study and doubted members would ever tell the truth. Her story was more 'real' than Mary's, in the sense that it was a richly detailed account of pleasure and pain. Sometimes it seemed painful but also cathartic for her to talk about a world

that suddenly had shunned her for reasons she never was told--but that she implicitly understood as being related to her friendship with a media-friendly apostate. Between her accounts and my fieldwork data, I tried to put these oddly shaped puzzle pieces together. So many pieces were missing, however. So many pieces didn't seem to fit.

I found curious contradictions in members' accounts as compared to ex-member informants'. Adam's wives, for example, had stated their ages were above twenty although ex-members claimed that at least one was still a teenager (interviews 02-11-92: 177-229; 06-12-92: 726;). Moreover, although Mary said the group does not believe in blood atonement, some ex-members later claimed that it does.[40] Mary's proposal for a dance might not have been intended as serious as members rarely have dances, according to ex-members, and Adam hates them. This dance--to which I assumed I was invited--probably never occurred during this time. If

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[40] Despite amorphous rumours of mysterious disappearances about members of the Colorado City group (but not of the Canadian group), evidence on blood atonement is lacking. Interestingly, however, Bob Crossfield, whom ex-members claim had been a member of The Work in Canada, later moved to the States and started his own (non-FLDS) "School of the Prophets" that taught members how to receive revelations. The School attracted brothers Dan and Ron Lafferty who then murdered a baby and ritually---"from ear to ear" in the manner of blood atonement--killed its mother in response to a purported revelation to get rid of obstacles in God's path. A vocal opponent of plural marriage, the woman (Brenda Lafferty) apparently had influenced Ron's wife against the polygamy that he was inspired to practise, rendering herself an "obstacle" (Van Wagoner, 1986: 217-9).

it occurred, then it would have been exceptionally secretive, as ex-member informants--who claim an informational "grape vine" to community members--were unaware of it, just as I was.

Mary's lamentation that I missed the school end party and her assertion that there were no upcoming events, also might have been intended to mislead me. An ex-member informant claimed that members held a graduation party later, incidentally at a time when members knew I was available and eager to attend events. If this 'later party' interpretation was correct, then Adam's first sermon that implied recent graduation may have been part of a conspiracy to keep me ignorant of upcoming graduation plans.[41] Yet the conspiracy idea contradicts Adam's initially expressed hopes that I participate. One morning, for example, he delightedly told his dispassionate wife, Eve, "you even have Marla working!" Yet even if Adam wanted me to participate, graduation may have been too risky--as ex-members later claimed that people often are married at graduation in secret ceremonies. Ex-members also claimed that in previous years select outsiders (i.e., ex-members who had relatives in the group) were invited to graduation--but that "after that they made a rule" prohibiting outsiders (interview 02-12-92: 1056).

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[41] Of course, they may have had graduation earlier and the party later, so that Adam was not necessarily part of a "conspiracy."

Members' unerring deference to Adam also made me cautious and my entry tenuous. That Adam vacillated between an authoritarian and carefree personality rendered him ambivalent--but always in control. Adam had claimed and acted as if the community was open--even telling me during our first meeting that people are too dependent on their leaders (fieldnotes 05-06-92: 3), members' suspicious behaviour--such as Mary's alarm when I indicated I was going to church--betrayed its restrictions. Perhaps such contradictory responses of openness and suspicion were due to a lack of communication amongst the members themselves. Indeed, although Grace had refused to talk to me about placement marriage, Mary (who refused to talk about her current plural relationship) later raved incessantly about placement and plural marriage.

To reconstruct the puzzle of Thummim, therefore, I needed more basic information on the internal dynamics of the community--information that Nancy took for granted, had not yet explained, or that required assessment. Thus I planned to return to Thummim to do more participant observation if Adam permitted it and secretly to interview more ex-members about this recondite community.

Before doing so, however, I negotiated a different focus. I thought that Dorothy Smith's (1990) concept of the "bifurcated consciousness," i.e., a dissociation between men's and women's ways of thinking, would facilitate

analysis of the group's salient patriarchy. Because of my lack of access to good data on "identity," I refocused on "patriarchy." Smith posits that men operate in the "governing mode of consciousness," the realm of abstractions that they regard as truth for all, but that emerges from their androcentric standpoints. The governing mode then imposes its ideas on women, whose consciousness is "locally situated." The locally situated consciousness emerges from women's concrete realm of everyday work, a work that frees men to focus on abstract ideas divorced from the concrete realm.

The "bifurcation of consciousness" concept seemed pertinent for a society in which the religious ideology (like Smith's "governing mode") emerged from, facilitates, and perpetuates male desires and control over women. In Fundamentalist societies the women rather than the men have more day-to-day contact with the areas that the male-controlled ideology stresses--such as family and children. It is not uncommon, for example, for men to be relatively ignorant about their children[42] or the living situations of their ideally obedient wives. Nor is it unusual for employed wives to give their pay cheques to their husbands, who in some cases then fail to provide adequately for their families. In contrast to female members who appear to allow

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[42] For example, when Adam sang the duet with his daughter he asked her how old she was.

the governing mode to obliterate their local situation (e.g., Mary, who glosses over the harsh realities of abuse with a brush of ideology), ex-member females are more capable of extricating the governing mode (ideology) of Fundamentalism from the concrete reality. They can see the concrete reality on its own terms. Yet, Smith posits that females--and I thought the female members in this study--notice a discrepancy between their concrete and governing realities. They live with this discrepancy by operating in both modes--the governing and the concrete. "The bifurcation of consciousness," Dorothy Smith (1990: 20) says, is "a daily chasm to be crossed." Thus I wanted to discover this discrepancy--the chasm-crossing--in the minds of the female members, and the obliviousness to the concrete realm of family in the minds of male members.

Though provocative, the "bifurcation of consciousness" concept was operationally difficult. The concept required the trust of both men and women in order to discover their different modes of thinking (consciousness). Again the methodological monster of distrust threatened the study's death. This monster seemed as indomitable as its mother, the more general problem of secrecy. I knew that members' secrecy would hinder my discovery of whatever theme I would end up focusing on. Yet what I argued as a methodological problem of secrecy, Dr. Golec reformulated as the theoretical problem. She interpreted both my knowledge and

confusion about Thummim as revealing the dominant theme of secrecy. Indeed, Thummim's historical, physical, and social context seemed impregnated (see chapter three) with the secrecy that also rendered Thummim impregnable to outsiders. Through revealing secrecy's entanglement in Thummim and untangling its threads--even the "methodological" threads of its discovery--the study could illuminate sociological conceptions of secrecy.

Chapter 5: Fieldwork II: Working in the School

A theoretical focus on secrecy directed me to the "methodological" stumbling block that obstructed access to Thummim, a stumbling block that highlighted the precariousness of the whole research process. Instead of standing on a firm foundation--or the illusion of a firm foundation--the researcher of secrecy is ever-conscious of the shaky ground upon which she constructs her study. This ground may threaten, like quicksand, to engulf both her and the study, because both the topic--secrets--and the method--how to penetrate those secrets--are nebulous. Even if the researcher senses secrecy "everywhere," the method of its discovery is uncertain and context-specific, making discovery especially difficult if the context itself seems incomprehensible. Indeed, a focus on secrecy seems unfocused because one does not even know what she is investigating.

Re-Entry Attempts by Phone

Once autumn arrived I was ready to return to Thummim. But contacting Adam by phone was as difficult as getting members to discuss their marriages. Despite--or maybe because of--their seemingly silenced voices, the women (including Mary) who answered Adam's office phone had the power to hinder communication. They did not know when Adam would be back in his office, they often said, so I left many

unreturned messages for Adam to call me collect.[43] Finally I contacted Adam and obtained his permission to return to Thummim for about six weeks.

> He [said] that he didn't want me to be like the media.... Adam asked, "what does your husband think of all this?" I said that he is very supportive and, in fact, would be able to help me, although he would have to take time off work. Adam replied that he would feel more comfortable with that arrangement.... He said that a couple from Lethbridge ... are very interested in joining them (fieldnotes Fri. 02-11-92: 1).

Hoping for a more consistent and involved fieldwork role, I said,

> "I would like to live with a family if that is possible." He said, "the problem is finding a family that would let you." I said, "would you let me live with your family?" "Well," he replied, "I'll have to think about that one." He was in a good mood and ... half chuckled at my question.... He reiterated that if I'm still "genuinely interested in our religion, then we'd like to have you back" (fieldnotes Fri. 02-10-92: 1).

Surprise Entry with my Husband

We agreed that I would call in two weeks at which time Adam would tell me whether he would permit me to live with his family. So I called then, and tried in vain over the following weeks to reach him. Without, therefore, forewarning members, I arrived in the geographically distant community of Thummim for a Sunday morning church service on

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[43] I refused to call Adam's home because I perceived it as an invasion for such privacy-loving people, and because I knew Adam frequented his office.

Nov. 1, 1992. This time, however:

> I brought [my husband] with me.... We were a couple minutes late and everybody was already seated. Therefore we tried to slip in unobtrusively. However, as we walked by people to get to [two empty] seats near the middle... I noticed all heads turning in unison.... we created a literal wave....

Not only did our surprise entry startle the 250-member gathering sitting on the main floor. Our entry also startled the four self-assured leaders who stood on the elevated front stage (and whose "power" one "can feel," as my husband observed). My husband noticed that Adam, upon seeing us, promptly conferred with an unfamiliar elderly leader--was he the Prophet? Adam instantly regained his composure. Despite our surprise entry I noted curiously that "everything seemed looser than before." In contrast to my earlier fieldwork in which I seemed invisible, more people--even men who categorically had ignored me before--acknowledged me after the service with a smile, my name, or a "how are you?" Radiating both the pride of motherhood and the candour of youth, Adam's young wife, Niva, showed me her newborn Child of the Millennium.

The unusually brief service consisted mainly of Adam's sermon that condemned children's TV cartoons, Greek mythology in education, and teenagers "sneaking around corners" and "fiddling" with each other. Such "fiddling," I figured, referred to sexual activity, given the context of morality in which Adam spoke. Despite his condemnations,

Adam grinned and frequently looked at us from the pulpit on the stage. On the few occupied chairs behind him sat the other leaders, including the mysterious elderly man. During the characteristic line-up-and-step-up-onto-the-stage-to-shake-the-leaders'-hands ritual afterwards, this stranger said to me, "you're from Edmonton, I hear," indicating he knew about me. I introduced my husband to these courteous but aloof leaders and arranged to see Adam Monday morning at his office.

Meeting with Adam

On Monday Adam spent only about ten minutes with me. But he beamed a perpetual smile.

> Adam said that when I came before, people were always asking him, "Where's her husband?" and he assured them that I was married. He said that he was "relieved" and "thrilled" when he saw [my husband in church] since it was proof that I was married. [He told me some of his wives didn't believe that I was married and thought he was lying] (fieldnotes Mon. 02-11-92:1).
>
> Adam explained that he was "too private" to let me live with his family when I asked. But he said he does not direct others. "We don't act like one man," he said.
>
> Adam then said he looked up sociology in the encyclopedia and said he read about some famous sociologist who went to India to learn Indian religion. This person partook of the rituals, etc. Adam made the point that [I] have to do that and he was confusing.... [I]t seems that Adam prevents me from participating, all the while saying I'm not participating enough.... Again he talked about how you have to "be" us to understand.

Adam told me he has a "healthy dislike" for those who have left the group, and that he had received a call from someone

from the University of Toronto who was interested in joining the group.

Explanation: Suspicions that I was a Potential Plural Wife

Adam's statement that his wives thought he was lying about my marital status introduces the possibility that these wives and/or Adam might have deemed me a potential sister- or plural wife to Adam.[44] This interpretation seems plausible given Adam's obvious "relief" and his wives' sudden friendliness after I "proved" I had a husband.

Thummim's secrecy pertaining to plural marriages (see Anderson, 1957: 385; Cannon, 1990: 118, 122) provides a context for this interpretation. That existing--especially potentially "rebellious"--wives sometimes are unaware of their husband's upcoming marriage, renders plausible Adam's wives' suspicions. These wives already might have experienced Adam's marital duplicity. It is plausible, then, that they deemed Adam's supposed "lie" about my marital status as a ruse to alleviate their suspicions. Even disconfirming evidence such as Adam's and my corroborative assurances that I was married, could have confirmed, in their eyes, that I was a potential wife.[45] They could have

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[44] For other studies in which the researcher is defined as a potential wife or sex partner see Golde 1986: 80, cited in Warren, 1988: 34, and Warren, 1977.

[45] Likewise, Pollner and Wikler (1985) discuss a family that sustained an extreme version of reality in the face of discrediting information. In spite of experts' diagnoses, this family remained convinced that their severely mentally handicapped daughter was highly intelligent. Creatively

thought that Adam and I were colluding or that Adam and the Prophet were colluding. Indeed, the Prophet probably had instructed Adam how to deal with me ("Entry Negotiations," Chapter 4). Thus my husband's arrival could have "relieved" Adam of the Prophet's possible instructions to marry me.

That Adam privately (to me) and publicly defined me as a potential convert could have intensified these wives' suspicions--especially after witnessing my first day in Thummim (discussed further on in this section). Adam's proselytizing, for example, frequently focused on my self-identity (i.e., academics who want to "join," the historical polygyny in my religion, etc.). He required that I both "be" in order to understand, and participate in the rituals. But "being" Fundamentalist implies celestial marriage, and the only "ritual" I know of for such women is marriage. (Men, being part of the Priesthood, undergo additional rituals).

Conversion, nevertheless, is rare in Thummim. Indeed, member Mary had told me her "personal belief" that outsiders truly never can convert, and another member would claim Thummim had no need for converts. Yet there seems to have been little other reason for Adam to grant me the access he did. As Schaefer (1980: 171) notes, "absolute secrecy makes

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reinterpreting the negative information as proof of their child's intelligence, the family actively sustained the illusion that she "tricked" all the experts into thinking she was handicapped. Similarly, it appears that Adam's wives were sustaining an illusion that he might have been "tricking" them into believing I was married.

it difficult to gain members." Indeed, ex-members were mystified at my high involvement (relative to this context), even though they doubted Adam would direct his sermons at me or deem me a potential convert.[46] Nevertheless, the experience of an outsider named Sheila, who had worked in Thummim school, hints at such a possibility. Sheila claimed that "at one of the graduation addresses, [a Colorado City man] had commented ... that my heart was surely in the Work." He allegedly misinterpreted her conformity as a reason to court her. "[U]until I got married," Sheila said, "they had the idea that I had returned there to find a husband. So that was partially I think why they allowed me to come and teach there" (interview 05-01-93: 1630). Likewise my conformity and apparent singleness might have transmitted similar messages.

My appearance of being unattached apparently posed problems for Adam's wives. An unattached female who is a potential convert to Fundamentalism is by definition a potential wife. Indeed, there is no room in the celestial kingdom for unattached women. Fundamentalists believe that polygamous marriage eliminates "sexual immorality"--such as prostitution and adultery--as it provides opportunity for all women to be married and become "Mothers of Zion" (see Whittaker, 1984). Thus an unattached woman--and by

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[46] One ex-member, for example, "guaranteed" me that members would conduct church after I left.

implication a sexually available woman--threatens the moral fibre of marriage and of the whole community. Thus even after I brought my husband (whose existence no member had verified), my failure to continue to provide his visible and thus symbolic presence would result in character-tainting rumours that I did not love him (see Gillespie, 1980).[47]

That my father introduced me to Adam in the presence of other members could have been misconstrued as further evidence that I was unmarried and perhaps looking for a spouse. Fathers are sometimes marriage brokers in Fundamentalism (see Cannon, 1990: 120). Their daughters are under their authority, or if married, under their husbands'. Thus by having my father rather than my husband initially introduce me to Adam, I inadvertently might have provided proof that I was unattached, available as, and even desiring to be, a potential wife.

My childlessness, a Thummim oddity for a married woman at the peak of her child-bearing years, plausibly could have roused further suspicion about my marital status and motives. Except for sexual abstinence, birth control is condemned, and some members may not know about it. Unlike inmates of "total institutions" who have a "home world" outside of the institution with which to compare their experiences (Goffman, 1961), most Thummim members grew up

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[47] A non-member who had regular contact with a member told me this rumour.

within Fundamentalism which fosters distrust about outsider knowledge. Socialized from infancy to aspire to become "Mothers of Zion," women cannot fathom why anyone would remain childless by choice. They would, ex-member Nancy told me, feel sorry for me. Perhaps, then, I appeared to be seeking marriage in order to fulfil my "natural" maternal desires.

More evidence that members might have deemed me a potential wife pertained to my high degree, relative to this context, of personal involvement with Adam's wives. This involvement might have heightened Adam's wives' suspicions that I,--whether I knew it or not--, was placed with them in order to become acquainted as a future sister-wife. Such "acquaintances" occur even if the host family is unaware of the placement (see Nancy's case in "Marriage Practices," Chapter Three; see Cannon, 1990). If I would have lived with Adam's family as I had requested, I inadvertently might have confirmed suspicions of my unmarried status and potentiality as a plural wife. Even at the time that I requested such a move, for example, a sixteen year old girl named Misty (i.e., the blushing girl at the dinner table on my first day in Thummim--see "My and Christine's First Day" in Chapter Four) had already moved in with Adam's family. Having grown up in Colorado City, she moved in ostensibly to go to Thummim school but within an indeterminate time became Adam's seventh wife (ex-member conversation).

My first day at Adam's house (see "My and Christine's First Day (etc.)" in Chapter Four) illuminates Adam's methods of courting and provides additional support for the view that Adam and/or his wives could have deemed me a potential plural wife to him. Since dating is forbidden, Fundamentalist husbands court potential plural wives under the auspices of existing wives (Cannon, 1990: 118-21, Merrill, 1975: 63; see Simmel, 1984: 135). In order to prevent existing wives' jealousies from flaring up, polygynists must use subtle techniques to convey their messages of sexual interest. It seems that Adam had mastered these techniques through which he plurally could court several women at once. His centredness and strategic distance from all the women conveyed his superiority but also the appearance that he treated all his wives equally. Equality of treatment is an appealing characteristic to potential wives for whom family harmony is a Fundamentalist ideal. That Adam held a baby and sang with a young daughter seemed to convey his keen interest in fathering, heightening his appeal to potential "Mothers of Zion" who seek such qualities. His constant emissions of boyish, jocular charm, his musical talent in this music-loving society, and his romantic songs, further conveyed his attractive personality.

Select performances by Adam could be interpreted as being tailored for specific people. Indeed, the song about a girl too young might have been directed at Misty, the

sixteen year old whom Adam eventually married. (Adam was 35 years old.) Adam also seemed to direct two messages to Christine and me. One message, via his comment about men usually doing the dishes, conveyed his sex-role liberation[48] which would be more likely to attract me than, say, his wives (and which seemed paradoxical in such a patriarchal society). The other message, via the "bear" photo, conveyed Adam's physical prowess, his unadulterated masculinity (that paralleled his mental dominion over the wild, carnal elements that he earlier had preached control over). This message seemed to have been for me and Christine as heterosexual women.[49]

Although puzzled, Christine and I initially attributed Adam's impression-making to motivations to present a positive image for my research. As uninformed outsiders lacking members' interpretive frameworks, we deemed Adam's

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[48] This comment may have been for me as researcher--or as a possible "media" person since the media has exposed the sexism of the group. Yet Adam did not associate me with the media until after I had visited an apostate.

[49]Adam distanced himself physically and socially from those whom his messages seemingly targeted and focused almost exclusively on his male guests. He used his children and wives as message bearers and fellow colluders through singing the "young girl" song with his daughter, showing me the "bear" photos through his son, and winking at his wives when he made his "dishes" comment. Such indirect means to convey his attractiveness as a husband or potential husband distanced himself from his own courting. He made it appear that the courting was a unified affair with the approval of his whole family even though he was the only actor--with passive supporting actors. He was targeting sex but in a distanced way, with the appearance of his wives' agreement.

performances and enigmatic songs "paradoxical" in a society that expresses great concern about sexual restraint. Despite the romantic songs, our monogamous "thinking as usual" (Schutz, 1970: 88) convinced us that Adam was not "romantically" interested in us because we were already married. Plus we were undesirable "Gentiles" and Adam's wives were very distant with us (not the way, I thought, they would be with each other).

I thought we would have been perceived as an external threat to expose and persecute the group for the very romantic expressions we were witnessing. Indeed, I expected that when members were in the presence of such external threats, they would have reserved their plural courting, like their plural marriage ceremonies, to insiders alone. Why Adam permitted us to "intrude" (which is how I felt members felt about us) on his personal life remained a mystery, unless he also was courting us as sororal brides. He already had married two different sets of sisters. Perhaps he, like others, preferred sororal polygyny as fostering the family harmony that is both upheld as an ideal but challenging to obtain in polygamous arrangements (see "Celestial Roles" in Chapter Three).

That Christine's and my father had acted solicitous to Adam may have fostered a sense of trust (see "Entry Negotiations" in chapter four) thus lessening the threat we might have posed. Indeed, Adam took us in good faith. Our

conformity might have seemed to reciprocate such faith--perhaps showing our "genuine interest" in The Work. In addition, our father's relative prosperity might have heightened our appeal as potential converts or wives. Three of Adam's sororal wives, for example, were the daughters of a wealthy man--which is why ex-members claim he married them. In addition, Adam's sudden rise to power relates to land acquisition.

In addition to his performances, Adam's earlier sermons also reinforce the possibility that he was attracting wives. Having greatest prestige, Adam admonished women to desire prestigious men (see "Second Sunday" in Chapter Four). His sermon denigrating wives in Joseph Smith's time who refused plural wives, might have been inspired by (and seemingly conveyed a lack of consideration towards) Adam's own wives' objections--just as Joseph Smith himself claimed a "revelation" commanding his intolerant wife to accept plural marriage or be "destroyed" (D&C 132: 52-4). Since polygyny places no limits on numbers of wives, those wives who were concerned about my apparent singlehood could have interpreted this part of the sermon as pertaining to me as well as Misty. Such sermons must have heightened Adam's wives' concerns about, if they also hindered their open resistance to, his acquisition of more wives.[50] (This

[50] Notably after the sermon that denigrated wives who don't want their husbands to take more wives, Adam's wives were friendlier to me. But this friendliness might be due to

"strong" statement does not reflect any "monogamous" bias but rather indicates the real difficulties plural wives historically and currently appear to have with their husband's additional marriages.[51])

Whether Adam believed or doubted I was married, my husband and I were "Gentiles." Yet (as chapter two indicates), early Mormons and some Fundamentalists do not always recognize Gentile marriages, and have practised a rare form of polyandry or bigamy by which Priesthood men married already married women (Chynoweth, 1990: 60; Van Wagoner, 1985: 81). More commonly, however, women have left husbands for those with more "prestige" in the Priesthood hierarchy (Van Wagoner, 1985: 80; Faux, 1983: 39; Foster, 1981: 159, 211). Indeed, after a schism in Colorado City, members of The Work convinced wives to leave their husbands whom they claimed had "lost their Priesthood" (interview with ex-member 13-12-92: 229-41; see Bishop and Bishop, 1972; UEP documents).

This marriage system does not discriminate against women as it does men, and therefore renders marriage to outsider females tolerable (see Cannon, 1990; Faux and

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the message, the same day, that legal charges against polygamists were dropped.

[51] It appears that avoidance phenomenon amongst polygynous wives is cross cultural. In three polygamous African societies, for example, the closer co-wives lived with each other the greater their attributions about each other's sorcery (LeVine, cited and discussed in Altman, 1977: 80).

Miller, 1984: 25)--even if, as member Mary said, their monogamous upbringing makes them selfish and uncooperative sister-wives. Informants alleged that men from The (U.S.) Work have posed as single in order to attract outsider women[52] (interview 05-01-93: 1794; see Cary, 1954: 121). They also claimed that a Thummim man, Ludwick, became engaged with a Gentile girl, Lisa, while marrying Sandra in Thummim. Neither woman knew of the other. Ludwick allegedly planned Lisa's eventual introduction to Thummim life (interviews 05-01-93: 1138-86; 07-01-93: 1588).

Adam's comment that women should desire to marry a prestigious man, his denigration of husbands who do not show their wives they are the leader, and Abraham's proclamation that women's salvation depends on their husbands all may have been cryptic messages to me about my husband's lack of Priesthood, "prestige," and leadership. Such messages could have been cryptic admonishments to me to request a marriage placement with Adam who could promise me a more glorious afterlife than my husband. (However, I would not have had the information that such a proposal was possible except through ex-members.) The sermon about women submitting to fathers or husbands might have been a hint for me to prove whether I was a marriageable daughter or a married woman.

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[52]"They won't tell these women they already have three or four wives," said one ex-member informant.

Indeed, my ambiguous status possibly exacerbated interpersonal distance, since, as anthropological research suggests, that "the display of distance in social relationships is crucial in settings of ambivalence and ambiguity" (Murphy, 1964: 1259).

Alternatively, because the sermons about careless men and salvation occurred the day after I visited Nancy (an "apostate"), they might have been referring to her, instead. Nancy was not submitting to her husband, even though she told me she still was plurally married to him. (She had no contact with him, however.) Indeed, the rest of this service seemed preoccupied with my visit with Nancy. I indisputably confirmed that members had discovered this visit. Nancy was considered apostate--probably, she thought, for her brief media association. The metaphor for Nancy, as for all "apostates," was "harlot." The sermon had stressed that in order to find out about virtue and harmony--how two women could love one man and each other--one should not go to harlots (and thus to apostates) but to the source of this love. Therefore since the "media" tended to go to "harlots," I was metaphorically "the media." This sermon, then, may have been less concerned with my marriage than about warning me against apostates. Of course, the calculated ambiguity of the sermons facilitated all-inclusive interpretations so that even the most remotely related case could be interpreted as being targeted. Thus the sermons could prompt

even the relatively innocent to scrutinize their vaguest thoughts or desires. For every sermon there might be multiple correct interpretations.

By appearing as an unmarried, potential convert whose deviance (i.e., visiting an apostate) needed to be rectified, and whose allegiances needed to be tied to the group, I might have generated leaders' concern about the best strategy to secure my commitment. If the leaders had proof that I was unmarried and of conversion, then marrying me to a Priesthood holder might have been imminent. Jacobs (1987) found that deconversion from authoritarian movements is a twofold process in which disaffected members first severed emotional bonds to the group and lastly, if it all, severed the more intense love bonds with their leader. In order to hasten an initial love for the leader, therefore, it would be expedient to place the new female convert--who does not already have this love--in a context such as marriage in which bonds will be immediate and intense.

If leaders knew that I was married, then it would have been expedient to involve my husband. Adam already defined him as a potential convert with me--just like the "couple from Lethbridge" who supposedly wanted to "join" (fieldnotes Fri. 02-11-92: 1). Adam might have interpreted my husband's eventual attendance as a penitent response to his previous sermon on men who do not show their wives they are the

leader. Perhaps this appearance of obedience was partly why Adam was "thrilled" upon seeing my husband.

Hypothetically, my husband's continued involvement might have generated loyalty tests--just as mine was to do. Indeed, Adam's hint that he had a "healthy dislike" for ex-members suggests that I too, had to exercise the same dislike. "Tests" for my husband eventually might have included his acceptance of a plural wife--with or without my knowledge. As earlier suggested, the addition of a plural wife would complicate leaving--and would be a strategic way to secure converts (Kanter, 1972: 86-9). But as two male members would tell me, they did not want someone who would take another wife and leave. A defecting husband, instead, would risk the loss of his wives who might stay and remarry--as some have done. The low status and therefore continued monogamy that my husband might have upon joining this highly stratified society, might encourage his defection--with or without me.

Negotiating a New Fieldwork Role

The day after my meeting with Adam, his wife, Eve, invited me to her duplex. She offered me generous samples of home made fruit leather. Then, while I also devoured home-canned chicken and pickles on grainy bread, she nervously asked why I chose to study "this topic." I said my supervisor had suggested it and then we talked about "culture shock"--the huge gap between Thummim life and the

outside world--that she herself experienced when in the "outside" world. After washing the dishes and tending to some laundry we walked to the nearby elementary school where I had an appointment with Ivan, the principal.

Ivan acted comfortably loose--so loose that he frequently touched my shoulders or back in a very friendly manner. He good-naturedly toured me around the informally run school where children called teachers, "Aunt," and "Grandma," if not "Mother," and where the ubiquitous smell of babies and sweaty children permeated the air. I followed Ivan as he nonchalantly meandered through the brightly postered school. He interrupted classes in session and cracked jokes like "carrion" (carry on) for everyone along the way. No one seemed to mind and everyone stopped what they were doing. After we returned to his office, Ivan closed the door and told me about the school. He said that previous media attention focussing on Thummim had resulted in inspections every two instead of every four years in order for the school to obtain partial government funds.

After acquainting ourselves a little, we turned to the more serious matter of negotiating the fieldwork role I had requested of Adam, that would facilitate my consistent presence in the school. Ivan suggested many positions (i.e., janitor, secretary, librarian assistant, substitute teacher, or teacher for children with special needs), all of which I

indicated I was competent and eager to do. Yet after establishing a surplus of work:

> He said that some days they'll send me home if there's not enough [work]--but stressed "it's not that we have anything to hide" (fieldnotes Tues. 03-11-92: 2).

On a much graver note, Ivan probed into whether I was meeting with apostates. I did not say directly that I was seeing ex-members, but rather, stressed my researcher role in which I must recognize the biases of different sources. Ivan admitted his lack of control over my possible ex-member contacts. Still, he bitterly complained that ex-members "think we're putting on a 'big act'."

Ivan's denial of "putting on a big act" was ironic, given both his stress on sending me home, and his familiar sounding response after I asked if I could live with his family. After I made such a request:

> He said, "No. Not with mine." I said, "why not?" He said, "I'm private.... But we're not acting like one man..." [using Adam's words, verbatim, to say that Adam does not control his members' actions](fieldnotes Tues. 03-11-92: 2).[53]

Finally Ivan indicated it was time for me to go. Upon leaving his office, one of his (two or three) wives turned

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[53] This reminds me of Monty Python's movie, "Brian," in which the mobs proclaim Brian as their leader and Messiah. Exasperated, Brian yells at the people that they have to think for themselves. They respond, in unison, "yes, we have to think for ourselves!" In this hilarious scene, they continually repeat in elated unison Brian's angry denouncements of their dependence on leaders.

to me and quipped, "what did you do to keep him so long?" I wondered what she meant, or what she betrayed about their own relationship.

First Week of Working in the Elementary School

When I resumed my fieldwork in the elementary school on Dec. 1, 1992, Ivan once again:

> emphasized that I should be where I'm needed--i.e., that I always [remain] busy doing rather than watching, etc., and [he] commented about me coming only a few days a week, and/or that I come for a limited number of hours per day. He doesn't seem to want me there all the time. Why not? [Remembering that ex-member Helen told me they probably would not let me into the high school because so many kids had quit to work for Adam on a "work mission"--interviews 02-11-92: 136-51; 03-12-92: 313)] I said that I could help out in the high school as well, and he assured me that they don't need help--probably so that I wouldn't see that the boys are missing...(fieldnotes Tues. 01-12-92: 1).

Ultimately, I became an assistant to Rhonda and Claire, two women in their forties who worked in the elementary school library. After discovering no shortage of library and janitorial work, and no explicit rules regulating my time or duties, I came for both part and full days, whenever I pleased.

During the first week I had frequent contact with five to seven year old children, reading them stories, for example, and overseeing their art projects when they came into the library. Except for one hostile looking boy who turned up his nose whenever he saw me, the children seemed intrigued with me. One girl said she wanted me to come to

her house. The teachers, in contrast, acted snobbish even though some of them knew me from my earlier fieldwork.[54] They rarely acknowledged me even though I worked on their projects and cleaned up. In a school, therefore, where my age peers expressed no interest in me, Rhonda was a refreshing, bubbly surprise and frequently asked about my life in the city. Claire, too, was pleasant and quietly sweet. We three frequently conversed about everything from children's books to Colorado City. One day Claire asked if I knew Nancy, whom, she gushed, was such a charitable person. I admitted truthfully that I knew Nancy through her job--hoping, meanwhile, that my clandestine evening interviews with this "apostate" remained undetected.

Priesthood Meeting

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[54] On the first day at lunch time, I entered the staff room where the all-female teachers congregated.

> I wasn't really invited but I did not know where to go and figured they're going to have to deal with me. Cindy pulled out a seat. No one else flinched for me, and the seating arrangement was such that people had their backs to me.... No one said anything to me for the hour I was in the room-- even though some previously had met me (Tues. 01-12-92: 2).

The teachers did, nevertheless, laugh and act natural while handing out food to everyone but me. (I had forgotten my lunch.) In some ways I was relieved that they ignored me so thoroughly. I never sat in the staff room again, however, because I felt so unwelcome and because they tended to close the door from then onwards, conveying the message that it was not appropriate for me to be with them. It is plausible that the husbands of some of these women may have forbidden them to talk to me, as such forbidding is common.

The smoothness of the school week failed to prepare me for the turbulence ahead. I arrived for Sunday (Dec. 6) morning church at 10:00 AM when church typically started, to see several well-groomed men and boys milling around outside. Some ignored me. Others watched amusedly and an older man said "hi" as I entered the church. That there were no women inside--only men--concerned me. A pudgy red-faced boy whom I then grilled about what was going on wriggled desperately to escape, "as if," I later recorded, "he was afraid of being seen with me, the cancer."

Recognizing Ivan, I charged, "Ivan, can you tell me what's going on?"

"No," was his seemingly relished response. Bewildered, I then recalled ex-members' vague references to all-male, supposedly "secret" Priesthood meetings (see interview 03-12-92: 1633-40). "Is this a Priesthood meeting?" I asked Ivan.

"Yes," he answered. Then he left me standing alone inside the capacious auditorium where about fifty dark-suited men congregated in small groups. All eyes descended upon me--including Adam's from the faraway stage.

Suddenly, an enormous, 50 year old man--whom I later discovered was Thor--bolted towards me from the direction of the stage. In a booming voice he bellowed, "we don't allow our women in here! So hustle!" His voice reverberated, instilling fear.

Livid, I responded coldly but under my breath, "don't tell me what to do."

"I won't tell you what to do if you're outside of those doors!" he retorted loudly, his voice filling the church.

In a final, futile effort to vindicate myself from what I perceived as a trap to make me look like a meddler, I protested that I didn't know this was a Priesthood meeting. Then I asked Ivan when church was to start. He replied, "Adam said that church is at eleven," so I drove away and returned then.

Upon returning, I slipped into one of the back rows where I tended to sit. Facing a congregation of over 200 people, an incensed Adam preached a fiery "sermonette" on "virtue."[55] Virtuous women, he declared, grow old gracefully

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[55] Here is what my fieldnotes recorded:

> Right away he mentioned lust and talked about ugly magazines, etc. (i.e., probably pornography) and how you shouldn't look at people with lust. He talked a lot about women and virtue--how you can spot a virtuous woman by her eyes, and that she will grow old beautifully, etc. He continued to equate beauty (no facial lines), "countenance," with virtue. He said that you can spot virtue in young women--you can tell. You can see it in their eyes, their actions, and the way they dress. Talked about heaven--how they dress in heaven.
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> Then he said that he wanted to tell a Biblical story that he had just told the young boys. He told the story about Moses, Aaron, and Pharaoh, and how the pharaoh wanted to see a sign... locusts, frogs, snakes, etc. Adam tried to be cute [and spoke baby talk, i.e., "eggies," for eggs, "fishies," for fish].

and have less facial lines. "You can spot virtue in young women," Adam preached. "You can see it in their eyes, their actions, and the way they dress." He yelled about how women dress in heaven, implying that "virtuous" female mortals dress like these anthropomorphic queens.

To the children, Adam repeated a story that he said he just finished telling the little boys. It was the Old Testament story about Moses, Aaron, and Pharaoh. Yet Adam spoke incoherently in a childlike language, calling eggs, "eggies," and fish, "fishies," and embellishing upon the details of the original story. Despite Adam's superfluous, childlike rambling, however, he conveyed that the pharaoh was seeking a "sign" (something two leaders would accuse me of later).[56]

Tentative Interpretation

I pondered whether Adam's "sermonette" about virtue referred to me. Earlier in the week, he and several other

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[56] According to legend, (Egypt's) Pharaoh refused to grant the enslaved Israelites their divinely promised freedom. In attempts to persuade Pharaoh, therefore, Moses performed many miracles before him. He changed water into blood which killed the Nile's fish, and he plagued Egypt with insects, locusts and frogs. Yet Pharaoh magicians emulated various miracles with their own "secret arts." The Pharaoh heart hardened whenever Moses honoured his requests to stop the plagues. A series of scourges culminated in death striking all of Egypt's firstborn, after which the Egyptians drove out the Israelites (*Exodus* 3-12). The New Testament Jesus preached, "an evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign" (*Matthew* 16:4; also *Luke* 11: 29, *Mark* 8:12; *Matthew* 12:39), and the *Book of Mormon* says that it is not faith to look for a sign (*Alma* 32: 17).

Priesthood men had "spotted"--albeit concertedly ignored--me in a Timber restaurant where our nearby tables were the only ones occupied. It was impossible for them not to have seen me and to have noticed my jeans, make-up, and jewellery, all of which, in Fundamentalist terms, pointed to the lack of virtue in my "eyes" and "the way [I] dress[ed.]" If Adam perceived me as a potential convert, then my deviance from the dress code--even when outside of Thummim--warranted censure. Even the modest, if unruffled clothing I wore to Thummim may have been problematic although no one told me.

In addition, the morning's events wherein I unintentionally attended a Priesthood meeting and then acted irreverent to a Priesthood holder, may have pointed to the lack of virtue in my "actions."[57] I reasoned that if the sermon targeted these actions, then it was a set-up to exploit my ignorance. I did not know there was a Priesthood meeting and would not have known anything about such meetings except that ex-members (whom Adam did not want me to associate with) had alluded to them. Adam himself cultivated this ignorance, and seemed to use it in attempts to convict me of guilt or to heighten the worldly threat I posed to other members. Indeed, if he had a problem with my actions, then he could have told me privately rather than announcing it before the members he had told me to befriend.

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[57] Adam might have instructed Thor to oust me, as ex-members reported he has instructed members to oust others in the past.

Alternatively, Adam may have been targeting other women who had violated the dress code or who had committed the immodest acts he vaguely referred to when he spoke of virtue in "eyes" and "actions." Indeed, ex-members doubted that Adam would preach about me. Thus I could not confirm whether or not Adam's veiled messages were about me. I acknowledged that the messages may have been coincidental, directed at others, or innocuously meant to teach a principle. Exacerbating my confusion was Adam's tendency to communicate mixed messages. When I talked to him in person, for example, or shook his hand after unnerving sermons that seemed to pinpoint me, he was unusually cordial. After this sermon, for example, I noted he was "very cheery" when I shook his hand on the front stage. The other adults, too, were difficult to read as most of them always acted reservedly cool.

Second Week in the Elementary School

By monitoring children, however, I could gauge what seemed to be my fall from grace. The next day (Monday, Dec. 7) in school, for example, most children did not acknowledge me, and when I said "hi" they gawked at me silently. The silent chains of hostility hoisted the chin of one boy whenever he saw me, or yanked out the tongue of another when I was not looking (Tues. fieldnotes 08-12-92: 2). Yet more insidious than such overt hostility was the covert

hostility--the shunning, avoiding, and blank staring--that slowly poisoned my relationship with the older children.

Ivan was Adam's appointed overseer of my activities in the school, and he openly revelled in his power to obstruct my access to desired information or events. Whenever I asked, for example, to attend the nearby high school, I would overhear him instructing Rhonda, Claire, and others to "keep her busy in the elementary school." The elementary school staff, all female, deferred to him, to the extent that they seemed incompetent individually to deal with outsiders who called the school[58] and with my requests for information, including seemingly innocuous sermons that students borrowed easily. Their typical response was for me to ask Ivan. Then when I asked him, however, for a copy of the class list that was stapled to the school walls, he said it was too difficult to find in his computer although all he had to do was remove it from the wall and photocopy it (fieldnotes Tues. 08-12-92: 2) on the school's curiously overlooked photocopier.

This class list contained the names, ages, and names of both parents of all the children. Thus it could facilitate both my social adeptness (as there were so many names to remember), and my understanding of basic demographics (e.g., average numbers of wives and children per family). On Friday

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[58] Someone from the Ministry of Education phoned and the teacher did not appear to care, so I took the call but was not much help, being as confused as he.

(Dec. 11) I scribbled down this list, along with parts of a school newsletter tacked to the library wall. Written on the newsletter's cover in thick black felt pen, as if issuing a forbidden challenge, were the words: "DO NOT COPY DO NOT REMOVE." (I had told Rhonda that I would not be coming this Friday but then fortuitously changed my mind, only to find that there was no school in session--except for a class that was having a party.) As I completed scribbling, several children who had wandered out of their classroom crowded near me, indignantly asking, "what are you doing!?" Then a teacher told me she was locking up for the day so I left.

Throughout this week (starting Dec. 7) and the ones to follow, Ivan avoided me. When I asked him for an appointment, for example, he said that it was his time off but that he would not devote it to me. He often taunted me about my "funny" expulsion from the Priesthood meeting, joking, "that was one of [Thor's] better days," and then leaving before I could respond. Although I initially had frequent contact with children, this contact lessened and I found myself increasingly isolated as I continued my library work and after school janitorial work. Still, when I did have contact, children warmed up to me and conveyed their comfort with their plural families. One girl, for example, said her mother was "Mother Sandy," another said she had "two mothers and one in the States," and a boy told me "Uncle Joseph" was his father.

Testing Decrees about "Red" and Christmas

Contact with children provided opportunities to clarify my confusion. Already I had tried to test, for example, ex-member Carrie's claims that the latest decree was not to wear anything with red, by attending school wearing a red barrette. I had expected the ingenuous young children to communicate my mistake, and a barrettes removability rendered a "red" violation easily correctible. I had arrived, however, to find Rhonda scandalously clad in a solid red dress. Consequently, I did not know which sources to believe pertaining to the alleged "colour of harlots." I also considered the possibility that members either knew or suspected that I learned about certain rules from ex-members, and then willingly violated them in attempts to make me distrust ex-members. Alternatively, ex-member Carrie suggested that non-conforming members might not have known about the rule, and furthermore, that liberation is permitted for the "chosen ones." The liberation of the chosen, then, may explain other incongruities I saw, such as some women wearing shorter or more modern dresses than the rest, some people more closely approximating the "foolish fashions" and activities of the "Gentiles" than others. Yet if there was a pattern of "chosenness" in the society or the supposed "caste system" within families, as ex-members claimed (e.g., interviews 02-11-92: 441, 459-75; 05-01-93; 09-01-93: 9-87), it remained hidden from the untrained eye--

as did the alleged enmity between Adam and a leader with whom he shared the stage every Sunday (interview 02-11-92: 100).

Christmas presented another conundrum. One ex-member told me that sometimes members do not celebrate Christmas. Another told me that when she was a child, leaders sometimes forbade Christmas celebrations, saying that people should give their money to the Lord "which is them, of course" (interview 02-11-92: 252). But later another informant said they had Christmas concerts (interview 01-05-93: 1584). One day children had told me about Christmas--that "Uncle Rulon" (the Prophet) had said not to celebrate it and then a little girl had responded that she didn't know that (fieldnotes Wed. 02-12-92: 1). One boy remarked matter-of-factly that only five kids in his family were getting presents. Finally I asked Claire about Christmas. She said that she didn't think there was a rule and that people celebrated it if they could afford it (fieldnotes Mon. 07-12-92: 2). But on Tuesday, I queried children about it.

> [Two 6 year olds] said they're not having Christmas but one of them said they're having presents (!???) I asked why. "Uncle Rulon [the Prophet] doesn't want us to" and Tammy said that Christmas is stupid (fieldnotes Tues. 08-12-92: 2).

The following Saturday I cornered the evasive Ivan in a store in downtown Timber, in order to query him about the Christmas conundrum. Although characteristically insolent,

he conceded that members don't celebrate Christmas but that maybe some do (fieldnotes 12-12-92:1). Then the following week, I noticed that some Christmas decorations brightened the school hallways, that the "Winter" art project I worked on had the word, 'Christmas,' and that children had been practising Christmas songs (fieldnotes 15-12-92: 18). Finally, I noted, "I can't figure that out! Why sing about it if the Prophet doesn't condone it!?" (fieldnotes 17-12-92: 19). I noticed similar contradictions about the supposed decree against T.V.s.

Thummim Women

In spite of my confusion I found refuge in the compatibility (not quite rapport) I was gaining with some of the community women. Eve, for example, invited me to her house on Tuesday morning for a friendly visit. Inevitably, though:

> She asked me questions about my thesis.... She seems nervous about it. She said that some people believe differently and ... [that] she might not totally agree with them. (Maybe she was referring to that incident where [sic] I told [Thor--the man who kicked me out of church] not to tell me what to do).

To ask what she meant, I thought, would have been impertinent in a society where people are well versed in the art of subtle disclosure. On that unfinished note (in my mind, anyway), Eve showed me the ruffled dresses she had sewn for the upcoming "bazaar" that she then invited me to.

She was not sure when it was, though, as the date had changed.

In addition to Eve, Claire and Rhonda--who was less guarded--also conversed amiably with me during the week. Rhonda conveyed contentment but seemed more worldly in knowledge, tolerance, and dress than other members (interview 09-01-93: 714-47). She even raved about the "Phantom of the Opera" she had attended. I deemed her openness, friendliness, and tolerance as approximating rapport. One day she laughingly babbled about her outsider friend's "disgusting" drunkenness and hangovers. Having a Gentile "friend" seemed anomalous.[59] Nevertheless, to prove my agreement about that which she tolerated enough to laugh about, I confessed to having had a "horrible" hangover when I was a young teenager.[60] Wishing to erase those words as I

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[59] But both Adam and Mary had told me that their best friends were Gentiles (even though Adam also had told me he did not care about anyone outside the group). Having a "drunk" friend seemed especially anomalous since Thummim members abhor alcohol. Yet on my first day of working in the school, one female teacher sang, under her breath, the popular song with the following lyrics: "Could've been the whiskey. Might've been the gin. Could've been the 3, 4, 6-pack--I don't know--but look at the mess I'm in. My head is like a football. I think I'm gonna die. Singin' me-oh-me-oh-my. Wasn't that a party!"

[60] I had thought that my attitudinal distancing from this long-ago experience would have redeemed me in Rhonda's eyes but in retrospect it was another moronic mistake. Conversation, however, was difficult because we quickly had exhausted our few commonalities.

said them, I knew they might foster distrust instead of the trust I had uttered them for in order to secure my tenuous relations with members.

My Second Last Sunday

Altogether my vacillating relations with members, mystification over certain "rules," and members' annoyance with my persistent attempts to gather information, fostered in me a sense of foreboding. Thus I went to church in foggy expectation, never knowing what to expect or believe. But this Sunday's (Dec. 13th's) sermon cut through the fog like an illuminating torch.

> Adam's "sermonette" was on keeping quiet. He admonished everyone to keep quiet, and to refrain from discussing family problems. He said that he doesn't want things to end up in the [main provincial paper] that in his estimation, is one step from the National Enquirer.... He kept repeating the 'be quiet and don't tell your secrets' theme. He said not to tell sacred secrets: those things that are most sacred and secretive should remain secretive. Adam said that he doesn't want our secrets to end up in the community (probably meaning Timber). He said, "Shut up and keep sweet" (fieldnotes Sun. 13-12-92: 1)

Adam's familiar sounding sermon was similar to the one he preached after I had visited the apostate Nancy during the summer. Clearly he was preaching about me, a "reporter" and telling people to "shut up" around me.

After Adam's typically deprecating sermon, Rhonda's husband, Abraham, approached the pulpit. He puffed out his

chest. In the harsh tone of righteous indignation, he promptly announced, "I've never been drunk in my life." Perhaps Rhonda told Abraham that I had been drunk. Alternatively Abraham might have been referring to the youth who might have been experimenting with alcohol, particularly because he quickly changed the subject to talk about opposite sex relations amongst young people. He admonished young people to accept the rule about "friends"--possibly referring to the rule ex-members told me about whereby "boys aren't allowed to give rides to girls" (interview 13-12-92: 360-68). Finally, he preached about his personal experience. He said he resisted temptation--or rather "disgust"--to have an extramarital affair for which he claimed an opportunity.[61] Abraham, incidentally, has five wives.

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[61] My fieldnotes record:

> He started off saying that some of you young people, I know are upset about the rule ... and think we are too hard concerning friends--meaning opposite sex relations. He said that girls should not be with boys and you'll have to wait till you're married, etc. I think the rule he referred to was the one [an informant] had told me of--that girls are not allowed to ride with boys in cars--unless the boy is her brother. Abraham said that this age is a difficult time, a test, and that one must be clean. He talked about his personal experience: He went on a business trip with 11 others [who were Gentiles since he worked in the Gentile realm], to Kansas. As there were no bars, the pilot, acting as host, brought the group to a club where there were women. Abraham said that one woman came up to him and that he was disgusted and left and that another man left with him. The other 10, he claims, brought women to their hotel rooms that night. He said that he wasn't even tempted, but he couldn't believe those 10 men.

Last Week in the Elementary School

Just as Abraham's sermon raised doubts about my relationship with Rhonda, the ominous sermon about keeping quiet raised doubts about my potential relationship to any Thummim member. This "keep your secrets" sermon was a self-fulfilling prophecy with so many devotees. Adam seemed to cultivate this secrecy, while loyal members like Ivan could ensure that members remain tight-lipped.

On Monday (Dec. 14), immediately after the morning assembly when the school regularly congregates for prayer, song, plays, and the day's instructions, Ivan commanded the teachers including Rhonda into the staff room and closed the door. All morning, the children's consolidated iciness towards me foreshadowed the melodramatic events ahead. All morning, too, Rhonda sniffled and said in a painful sounding, crackling voice, that she was sick and going home. She intermittently asked whether I was leaving, too, but I consistently replied that I would leave later after I had filed more of the library cards she had assigned me. Peering out the window at 1:00 PM, however, I saw all the children boarding the bus. Dumbfounded--because school did not end till after 3:00 PM--I repeatedly queried Claire whose initial, muffled response betrayed embarrassment. She finally said that a lot of children were sick and were going home. Yet:

> [i]f the theory about kids being sick were true, then they would have had to phone their parents to let them know that the kids were coming home. I don't believe they phoned them. There is a phone in the library--and if the teachers were busy, I guess that they would get the librarian to call the parents. Who knows!! All I know is that I never know and no one gives me a straightforward answer to clarify this incredible confusion. Who knows if any of them know?! .... A rather uneventful but strange day (fieldnotes Mon. 14-12-92: 4).

Notably, Rhonda usually was the busdriver and the bus was her transportation to and from school. Maybe then, she was finishing her daily job by having the children leave with her. Members conceivably planned this abrupt termination of the school day--perhaps during the staff's closed-door session. Possibly they planned it so that teachers could clean their classrooms--which is what they did when the bus arrived--since there were no actual janitors and the school was dirty. It was also possible that members conspired to get rid of me--although I did not know why as I tried to "mind [my] own business." Regardless of the reason, I left soon after the bus.

Attending the Secondary School

The next day, Tuesday, Dec. 15, I braved the secondary school's assembly (the morning religious instruction), located in the church auditorium. I had told Ivan that I was going to attend. I took a seat with the 16 students facing the stage. Atop of the stage was 30 year old Derek, dressed in a fashionable green pin-striped shirt and black pants--looking rather Gentile. Reading aloud from *Jacob* (2:23-28

in the *Book of Mormon*), Derek told a story admonishing people not to take more wives as Solomon did, as this was deemed evil. (The *Book of Mormon* contains contradictory--mostly negative but sometimes positive--polygamy statements.)

> After we left the assembly I waited to ask Derek if I could attend his class. "My first response is no," he replied. I insisted, however, saying that I'm not a reporter, I'll just sit in the back, and I just want to find out what it's like to live here, and that there is so much hidden from me that even that would help. He let me, pointing out that it is just Social Studies like any other SS class. I said that's okay.... There were 5 students [2 of them being "puny males" that may, as ex-members mentioned, have been taken from the work missions so they could finish school] in this grade 10 class--grade 10 according to one female student [and maybe it was but I was never sure].

Halfway through this informal class during which Derek quizzed students for an upcoming exam, he left and returned. Then when the class was over, the students left and some new ones entered for the next class. But after finding Derek and I engaged in a heated debate they also left. This lengthy debate began after I had asked Derek's permission to "shadow" him for the day, and after he responded that that was an "intrusion."

Despite the obstruction I posed to the incoming class, my "intrusion" was defensible. First, Derek and soon Ivan were full, eager participants who did not ask me to leave (in which case I would have). Instead, they stayed for over an hour after which they indicated that I should leave.

Second, by this day I already had witnessed constant change and flexibility in the elementary school and doubted that the high school would be much different. Teachers had no problem, for example, cancelling classes for other activities or if one child was sick, and did not appear serious about academics.[62] From a research perspective, moreover, this alleged "intrusion" was crucial for clarification. Although I knew I was risking further alienation and possibly expulsion, I already was alienated so believed I would gain more than I would lose. The following overview and fieldnote excerpts highlight the major points of our discussion. (The first initial of our names--Marla, Derek, and Ivan--identify the speaker).

Derek stood at his teacher's desk and I sat in a student's desk about 2 metres away. I was vehement and frustrated over the group's obsessive secrecy, but relieved once I realized that Derek was as eager as I to settle this problem.

> M: I just want to find out how you live, and it's pretty hard if I continually am being prevented from attending things.
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> D: All's you need are these church works (Church History, Brigham Young's Sermons--copied from the *Journal of Discourses, Book of Mormon, D&C,* etc). You don't need to look at us to understand Mormon

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[62] One teacher, for example, could not spell and her students repeated her mistakes. Other teachers had no professional training and let female students go home to sew for the day.

Fundamentalism. That's your problem. Have you read the *Book of Mormon*?

M: Yes, some of it.

D: What did you think of it? There's all you need to know right between these two covers.

M: Well, there are lots of people who read the *Book of Mormon* and live differently than you. That's why I think it's important to see how you live it.

D: Well, what are you going to do with this knowledge? You have all you need in these books. You don't need to look at us. You need to read these works and pray about it, and that's the problem. You will never understand us unless you are willing to live it. You don't want to live it. What are you going to do with this knowledge? What are your goals? That's what I have a problem with--your goals. Tell me what you are going to do when you're done. This is just for your degree, so you can have a pat on the back, right? So someone can tell you you are pretty good. And then you'll go on and do another study on something different.

M: Well, no, I mean if I was in it just for a pat on the back I would have chosen a much easier topic, so I wouldn't even have had to leave the university or endure this kind of torment....

Ivan entered the room and instead of telling me to leave like I had envisioned, he settled on top of a desk at equal distances from Derek and me. Both men faced me in this triangle in which their united wills--the will of the Priesthood--battled with mine. The tone of this battle was intensely serious and required innocuous channels through which to express and deflect the attendant emotions. Consequently, wit, humour, moderate expressions of anger, and veiled flirtation provided this emotional release. Although a desk obstructed Derek's view, he constantly shifted his whole body in order to look at my stocking-clad

lower leg below my dress. (Perhaps he was looking for the holy undergarments that no one, however, had instructed me to wear.)

Derek raised several objections about my study. He repeatedly complained, "well you are just going to get your degree and move on. I don't support that," and, "the problem is your goal." He queried me about the kinds of jobs my degree was for--but later told me, "If you joined, what could you do with your degree? There is probably nothing around the area for you. But if you got a teaching degree, we could use you." Derek also frequently alluded to soldiers going back and forth from Nelson's to Napoleon's camp, only to have to finally choose between the two. In this context I was uncertain about what he insinuated.

M: Are you referring to apostates?

D: Yes. How can you go to them about us? We are not them. They are not us. You cannot understand us now because your mind is filled with whatever they said, and whatever you see will be interpreted in that way.

M: No. I understand, completely, that you are separate. But you won't let me know anything. I need to know all perspectives. I'm not a reporter

D: She sounds like one, doesn't she ?

I: Yes

M: All's I want is you! Your life, your perspective. I don't have to consider your perspective but I wanted to understand you. I could depend solely on ex-members. That's how most studies on religious groups are done. But I am willing to do what it takes to understand you and that's why I am doing this. But how can I understand you when everyone clams up with me?

I: Why cast your pearls before swine? ("Why give what is holy to the dogs" is the rest of the Biblical passage to which he referred).

M: so I'm a pig!

I: I'm not trying to be judgemental. Don't take it the wrong way. Why should we tell anyone what is sacred to us? We should keep our sacred secrets to ourselves. [He went on about this] So we will clam up around you. No one's going to open up to you.

D: [continued on about the 2 camps]

M: Why do you think I'm listening to apostates?

I: (smirking and gloating, as if he's been bursting at the seams to tell me) we saw your car at Nancy's place!

M: Well, I need to understand. I appreciate that ex-members have their own biases--I know that. And I take that into account. And I know that those who have defected may have had non-typical experiences. Of course I consider all this. I see that in Thummim people have a different perspective. I just want to understand your world view but you won't tell me so I have no choice! I'm forced to rely on other sources--not necessarily because I want to but I don't have a choice.

D: Well, you put yourself in this bind. I feel sorry for you. But you did it to yourself. [we repeated these ideas about soldiers, the bind I'm in, etc., and how English and French spies went into other camps but eventually had to choose.]

M: I am determined, and I will do what it takes.

D: I know you're determined, I can see that.

I: You are determined. We've had a few people interested in the group and the most people have come to is one or two Sunday church services and that's it. They never came back again. No one has ever been as persistent as you. You've been with us for over a year now. I know you're determined, but as hard as you try to get information, we will try just as hard and are just as determined to keep it from you.

M: Right now this is my life. I will go the extra mile. I am not quitting till I get this done.

> D: it's her religion [or something like that]. I have a problem with your goal. You have all this truth, you've read all this material. It's dangerous for you to know all this and still not change. Don't you know that the more you have the more harshly you will be judged?

Then the men quizzed me about my beliefs, whether I believed in hell, for example. I wanted to remain neutral even though I knew that it was relevant for them to know my beliefs. My secrets, however, were in contraposition to theirs. In efforts to be neutral I said I was numb but then they said I was aligning myself with the devil. I felt like a witch on trial--that whatever I said would be interpreted as aligning with the devil[63]--especially after I then asked them about doubting. They told me, "why doubt when we know we have the truth?" Derek emphasized that it was dangerous for me to have all this truth and not do anything about it. Then:

> I: Why should we tell you anything? You'll just turn around and use that information to persecute us. You'll just take what you see that suits your theory and then go away.
>
> D: What good is your research going to do? What's it for?
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> M: A lot of Christians say, "I'm the only Bible people might ever read," so by looking at a believer's life, one should be able to see how real it is. So I want to read the people here. If it's the truth, I should see

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[63] See Kaplicky, Vaclav, 1963 Witch Hammer. First English edition, trans. in 1990 by John A. Newton. Tucson, Arizona: Harbinger House.--a historical novel based on true people and events in North Moravia around 1680

it in the way you live. Who knows, maybe my research will be good for you. Maybe you will get more converts that way--if people know about you.

D: I have my own personal feeling about converts from the outside world. In my view, no one from the outside ever truly can convert. That's just my personal opinion. Especially someone who's got university training. [He himself has university training, he said, and so he talked about how that makes a person "think there's no truth, that there's no black and white." He asked what I believed and both men grilled me on what I believed-while making their judgements clear--i.e., "She doesn't believe in God."]....

D: the problem is your goal [your research.] If you were open to the truth, you would realize you don't need that. The truth is right here. This is all you need.

M: So if I became a Mormon Fundamentalist I would have to drop my research.

I: You wouldn't have to. You would want to.

D: I can see you'll do anything for your research. How far would you go with this research? Would you marry someone?

M: Well, that would present a lot of ethical problems, but I have considered it (laughing). Let me tell you, though, about one researcher [i.e., Burke Forrest]. She was studying witches, so she thought the only way to understand them was to become a witch [I never really got to finish this thought about Burke Forrest's research because the 2 men took off on this idea and likened me to a witch, etc.]

D: You'll always be a researcher. You're going with the devil (the idea was ... that one can never be both).

D: Take a rosebush. An artist will come along and see the rosebush for something beautiful and create a beautiful painting, and a dog will come and use it for something else! It's just a different perspective.

(We laugh)

I: Oh so now she's a dog. First a devil, then a witch, and now a dog. You're going to go away and write all this in your thesis, but you know what I mean. We're not trying to be critical, we wouldn't do that. And we

don't think we are without sin. Like Jesus, when the prostitute came to him, he said, "Whoever has no sin, let him cast the first stone," and everyone walked away.

M: Yes, I'm the prostitute//

I: (to Derek:) Let's go! [At first I thought he was mad and meant go away from me. But since he did not go I thought he might have meant this flirtatiously--but still degradingly-- as, "let's go with this prostitute." So I clarified what I meant:]

M: I'm the prostitute in the sense that I need mercy, not stoning.

D: it's not you we have a problem with, it's your goal.

I: Jesus said, "If you're not for me, you're against me." Remember the man who was going to follow him but didn't want to go with him right away and Jesus went on without him.

D: Well, from my perspective the person who runs from Napoleon's to Nelson's camp is someone we should not tell anything to.

...

M: What would I have to do to show you I'm converted?

D: You aren't.

M: well, never say never. You never know. Don't write me off like that.

I: Repent. You would have to repent and then whatever in your heart you think you should do.

D: Everyone has been asking about you and saying, that girl has been hanging around for quite a long time over a year now. And she doesn't show any sign of change. So they don't trust you. Our religion is a religion of works. It's not enough to have faith and believe in your mind. You have to show by your works. We can't trust you until we see your works.

M: [Exasperated and half laughing because I had been conforming as much as I knew--out of respect not a desire to convert.] So what would I have to do? Grow my hair long and braid it?

D: As soon as you're laughing, I know you're not converted.

D: The problem is, you want to serve two Masters. You can't do that.

M: I'd have to give up my research. Okay, let's say I converted

D: You won't

M: If I convert how would it work?

I: You'd have to come with your husband.

M: you mean you wouldn't accept me without him?

D: No. Or he would have to leave you. You could not leave him. [[Earlier Ivan told me about a man who left his wife and family to join the group, so there appears to be a double standard.]]

M: Okay, say my husband left me. Would I get a husband right away?

D: After you proved by your works that you believed.

I: One man joined the group and got a wife and then left after he got a wife. We don't want people like that.

M: Could I pick my husband?

D: Yes.

M: What about you? I mean what if an ugly duckling is assigned to you?

D: You're thinking in the flesh! We don't consider that. We try to treat everyone the same and don't look at the flesh.

M: [continuing on about me joining up] What kind of a husband would I get?

I: Someone just like you.

M: What do you mean? Spiritually?

I: In every way.

D or I: he'd have his hands full if he married you. He'd spend the next 20 years trying to convert you.

I: How old are you, anyway?

M: 26.

I: Oh, too old! (they laugh)

M: Hey, what do you mean by that?

I: Insider joke.

D: You won't convert, anyway.

M: well, don't you want converts? I mean, you need new blood.

D: [<angry>] We don't need new blood! You're talking like we're the Hutterites! Or if we have a problem with in-breeding and incest

M: well, everyone's related or will be soon.

I: it's getting to be that way. We have another community from which to get wives.

...

Knowing I probably never would get another opportunity, I asked the men about sex. Given their expressions of disgust, however, they said they thought these questions were immoral in themselves, and that I was immoral for asking--as even thinking about sex is wrong. "We don't prioritize sex like the outside world," they insisted. "Sex is a small part of our lives." When I asked about marriage, both said, "Sex is not a main priority like it is for you and I won't tell you. Why tell what is secret and sacred between marriage partners." By the time we moved off this subject, Ivan had told me, "you can't control yourself," and

Derek had said, "I have my theory about you"--although I failed to follow up on his "theory."

Although the denigrations of my spiritual and moral character were a necessary part of the research, it was my haunting familiarity with the following information that unnerved me. When I asked about sex, Ivan responded:

> Our kids are not naive, they know about sex. I teach biology.... I get in depth and talk about hormone release. It's highly technical. Take a high school girl, we don't have any 18 year old girl that doesn't know what sex is and how babies are reproduced. Take a look at my biology text. It's got everything in it. You grew up on a farm, you see animals. Even my little son, he knows what's happening in his own naive way, when he sees two chickens together.

Only two weeks previously an informant had told me:

> Cynthia doesn't know how girls get pregnant.... She's 18. You'd think <laughs>. I mean they all have animals, you'd think they'd catch on sooner or later (interview 02-12-92: 699)

Yet only two days before Ivan talked about his biology book, strikingly comparable information emerged during an interview:

> X: Cynthia, she's 18 now, she does not know how kids are made
>
> M: Well how can she not know? Don't they have biology?
>
> X: One kid was goin' through the [biology] book and he saw these pages. That kid went and ripped... that chapter up, every book.... They've never studied it. They do not know how babies are formed (interview 13-12-92: 868-76)

Ivan's invitation to look at his biology text merely heightened my suspicion that he had prepared for investigations--or me specifically--by keeping a complete version on hand.

Ivan's possible preparation and his strangely familiar soliloquy may have resulted from informational leakage or even espionage between my different sources. Indeed, a few ex-members, in attempts to prevent further ostracism from beloved members, continually oscillated in the degree of their loyalties to members. Consequently, they inadvertently might have leaked information to members or spies. Indeed, Nancy rightly had admitted to members that I visited her, and Ivan told me during our (above) confrontation that "information travels two ways."

The ex-member network of fluctuating loyalties to group members seemed to cultivate a self-destructive element of internal distrust amongst the ex-members that both parodied the environment they attempted to condemn and hindered their consolidated opposition to it. Yet ex-member suspicions amongst themselves were petty compared to the suspicions they had of the group in which they recalled spies tattling on dissident members. One ex-member laughingly asked me, "did you paint your car black before you drove here?" indicating her suspicion of group spying--and her knowledge that members had already seen and reported my car at Nancy's. Another wondered if members tapped her phone, just

as I myself pondered the degree of sophistication of the group's espionage after listening to Ivan repeat what I had heard from ex-members. Regardless of actual spying, however, it was the not knowing, the unconfirmed suspicions of spying (and of other things such as blood atonement), that rendered an investigation into Thummim a breeding ground for paranoia.

My conversation with Ivan and Derek ended with Derek saying, "you won't convert." "How do you know ?" I asked. Derek said, "You haven't changed. I have my theory about you," but again I failed to ask what it was. On my way out of the classroom I suspected that the community immediately would clam up, so I exhausted some of my pressing questions. For example, I asked Ivan if I could see the copies of the sermons he recorded every Sunday, but he of course refused, saying I would use whatever suited my theory and persecute them. He claimed no genealogies or writings about members' lives, and alleged that the Mormon Church suppressed the favourable theses on Fundamentalists. Of course, neither would tell me how many wives and children they had, or what happens during the Priesthood meetings. Ivan did, however, confirm that Adam preached like Brigham Young, whom he claimed was "straightforward," meaning he did not have to name names even though the gathering knew who he preached about. Ivan's claim was further evidence that several sermons may have targeted me--especially when they

additionally accused me of "seeking for a sign," which was the topic of a previous sermon directed at children.

I obtained Ivan's permission to attend his class for the next day. He permitted me to attend his "hunting class"--perhaps a sinister joke, because it was biology instead. In biology, the starfish that Ivan had said they would dissect not surprisingly escaped its fate--just as I hoped to escape mine. In efforts to escape what I saw as the inevitable closing up of the community, I assumed a self-abnegating stance by "look[ing] down more than up" during the early morning assemblies.

"Last Day of School" and Last Encounters

During (Dec. 18) Friday's morning assembly in the elementary school, Ivan announced that it was the last day of school and that school would not resume till January. (An official looking sheet of paper, however, indicated that the 22nd was the last day, and Rhonda told me that school resumed on Dec. 28.) Ivan also announced that the bus would arrive at 10:00 to take children who wanted to go skating. Conveying the impression that the bus would be full, he said that the first children to board the bus may go. (Yet the children I overheard said they were not going skating, I saw no one with skates, and when the bus arrived, I did not see children board it.)

The morning had a festive, casual feel to it. A couple of classes performed plays and children cleaned their

lockers while the staff cleaned their classrooms. The librarians mentioned their holiday sewing plans to me and over the last couple of days had photocopied several recipes. Yet in spite of the festivity I sensed something had gone awry. Most children were particularly icy to me. They looked through me as if I was not there, the sign, I suspected, that leaders had ordered them to shun me.

Students and teachers seemed to have disappeared quickly; thus I was unable to ask questions of them. Nevertheless, I told Claire, one of the few remaining staff, that I was going to the nearby high school to talk to Ivan. She insisted that the snowy road was too treacherous for my car and that he probably wasn't there, so she dialled the number of the high school for me. There was no answer. Having nothing more to do, I was out of Thummim by 11:00. I discovered later that the bazaar, that ex-members said required a couple hours of preparation to set up, was to start at 1:00--at the high school where Claire insisted I should not go. Outsiders in previous years had attended this innocuous event to which Eve had invited me. The bazaar is one of the main events of the year and one that people had been preparing for, for days and weeks in advance--suggesting why Rhonda had been photocopying recipes the last few days. Much later, I discovered that members held a dance that evening--perhaps the dance to which member Mary had invited me during my first fieldwork phase.

Covering Thummim as thickly as the fresh, deep snow, was the relentless secrecy that Thummim's icy climate never permitted to melt. On Sunday, Dec. 20, this secrecy, like the snow itself, mounted into a whirling, blinding storm, inducing in me an all too familiar sense of uncertainty. As usual, no one greeted me when I arrived for 10:00 AM church but this time it was because no one was there. As the church was open with chairs set up for a service, I left and returned at 11:00. Again it was vacant, as vacant as the eyes of a draped woman I saw walking along the road. Relieved to see this sudden spark of life in a community where everyone--and my study--seemed to have died, I halted my car and rolled down the window.

"Is there church?" I asked.[64]

"No," she curtly replied.

"Was there a bazaar on Friday?"

"Yes."

"At what time?"

"One o'clock."

The inquiry over as quick as it began, the draped woman tore into the field in the direction from which she had come--as if a legion of demons was nipping her heels.

A few days later the response I elicited again matched that of frightened saints fleeing from tenacious demons. On

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[64] Since members tend to give curt answers, I should have asked, "*when* is church?"

Dec, 22, at around 3:15--the time school typically was over for the day, I coincidentally observed the Thummim bus ahead of my car. The bus accelerated with my attempts to catch it. Upon approaching it, finally, I observed through its huge rear window, several children ducking with their heads below the seat backs. Perhaps the busdriver (probably Rhonda with whom I worked and who drove the bus) wanted to conceal the fact that members had lied to me about the last day of school in order to keep me away.[65] Indeed, a full bus at the end of the school day betrays the possibility that these children attended school on a day they told me they were not going. This was my last encounter, a fitting farewell for a society in which the wheels of secrecy had gathered momentum and seemed to have spun out of control.

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[65] Ex-members were confused as to why they might do this.

Chapter 6: Analysis of Thummim Secrecy

I. Alternative explanations

1. My Failed Entry

Members' Impression Management and Protection

The previously discussed fieldwork suggests some alternative explanations to the "secrecy thesis." One alternative posits that the "secrecy" I observed merely reflects my failure to enter Thummim and is not necessarily a fundamental property of social interaction within the group. That members distrusted me and continually hindered my access to Thummim events is indeed proof of my entry failure. Members' initial definition of me as a potential convert (for similar examples see Adler and Adler, 1987; Gordon, 1987; Mitchell, 1993: 14, 44-5) might have made them "secretive" only to present a positive image and to initiate me slowly into group practices--just how any group would act in attempts to secure resources. Furthermore, the "secrecy" I observed after having visited an apostate might indicate merely members' desire for protection from dissident-influenced outsiders.

While partly correct, these explanations nevertheless overlook the embeddedness of secrecy in the field setting and cultural meanings of those studied. Other researchers of secretive groups have tended to overlook this embeddedness (e.g., Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter, 1956; Humphreys, 1970). Consequently, researchers tend to present "secrecy"

as a methodological or ethical dilemma (Mitchell, 1993: 3; Punch, 1986; Taylor, 1987), or as a practice directed against outsiders of the secret society (Goffman, 1959; Simmel, 1950). Such emphases have neglected secret society members' practices of "internal secrecy" against each other (exceptions include Brandt, 1980). This internal secrecy seems to be a salient feature of Thummim.

2. Emotional Biases of Ex-members and Myself

Another alternative explanation to the "secrecy" thesis critically examines my reliance on ex-members (and ex-member-informed media sources) who are emotionally biased against Thummim. In spite of their anti-Thummim bias, however, ex-members' criticisms were somewhat softened by their affections to current members. The corroboration by 10-17 ex-members about various details confirms that secrecy is central to internal practices such as marriage. Ex-members seemed to take for granted Thummim's everyday environment of not knowing.

Critics might argue that my own vacillating and intense emotions blinded me and that the "secrecy" thesis merely veils a motive of revenge. Throughout the fieldwork I tried to recognize my emotions in order to empathize as much as possible, with both ex-members and members.[66] Still, I constantly struggled with conflicting, co-existing, and

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[66] See Simmons, 1985: 288, 296, for an interesting discussion of the connection between emotion and interpretation.

debilitating emotions that rendered empathy demanding--perhaps impossible. I felt extremely grateful but even more guilty--like a traitor--for researching such privacy loving, devout, and persecuted people. I had compassion, respect, and sympathy for all ex-members and most members. At the same time, however, I suppressed my rage towards certain members whom I thought deliberately thwarted my research and exploited my ignorance in order to magnify publicly the threat I posed. Ex-members' accounts of abuse and my own observations of children's socialization into shunning and hiding exacerbated my anger. Yet I also was perplexed about my own role in contributing to what I believed was psychological abuse (e.g., the bus incident).[67]

Female teachers' passivity, deference, and acceptance of not knowing things exasperated me. Secretly I wanted them to rebel. I began to despise some of them for their snobbishness and unquestioning obedience to men--even though I knew they might be punished for disobedience. But I too was passive--in attempts to facilitate tolerance and to stay out of the trouble that my assertiveness consistently produced. Sometimes my inward hostility and exhausted sympathy numbed to cold indifference: 'why waste emotion on adults who support a system that works against them? They deserve what they get.' Through mentally drawing thick

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[67] See Taylor (1987) for a discussion of the ethics of observing abuse.

circles around myself to deflect what I thought were undeserved attacks against me (e.g., by the sermons and shunning), I could be coldly indifferent with myself, too. Nevertheless, my affection towards the children, and to adults who expressed the slightest warmth towards me in such a cool environment, challenged my indifference.

The ambiguities of Thummim communication confused and tormented me with self doubt and frustration. Contradictions made corroboration imperative. Betrayals exacerbated my distrust. My attempts to understand seemed to be punished so I felt vulnerable and powerless in a system well-peopled with spies. Mental fatigue and a profound sense of futility overwhelmed me. Daily I expected the unexpected, believing nothing except openness and honesty would surprise me. Thummim's unpredictability conspired with my piecing together of the amorphously related sequence of events, ex-members' stories, and my knowledge about other blood-atoning Fundamentalists (see chapter 4), to heighten my anxiety about personal safety.[68] I fettered my wild imagination.

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[68] Ivan's comments about "carrion" and his invitation for me to attend his "hunting class" seem sinister, especially in light of member's treatment of me (e.g., betraying, shunning, mortifying, thwarting of my research, etc.) and ex-members. One ex-member allegedly tried to visit her friend whose husband watched while holding a gun. Another husband supposedly told an apostate relative, "as far as me and mine are concerned, you're dead." The theme of "death" is metaphorical more than literal, although two ex-members supposedly feared for their lives after leaving the group. I also had the following conversation with ex-member Pat who had lived in Colorado City:

Pat: You can't know [the Work]. As soon as you challenge it [or]... make anything that they have to explain, *you're out*. I know of kids that have absolutely disappeared [in Colorado City].
Marla: And what do you think happened to them?
Pat: I think they were killed, I know damn well they were.... I believe there's henchmen involved in this thing (interview 13-12-92: 189-94).

In addition to this unverified speculation, Pat alleged that the Colorado City Work "had a vigilante group that went around and just beat the loving hell out of people that'd come in there to enquire like you are" (interview 13-12-92: 600). Nancy said I was "brave" (but she did not say why), and a few informants advised me to be "careful" with certain high ranking men who allegedly might do "devious things"--especially if directly ordered (interview 13-12-92: 595-98). Yet they said I should not have to worry about my personal safety. Ex-member Perry alleged that members' desire for my thesis to convey positive images would protect me. When he was a member, Perry claimed, he was an "outcast" and endured children spitting on and throwing rocks at his vehicles (interview 06-12-92: 936). He assured me that since I "don't have any broken windows," members would treat me decently (interview 06-12-92: 956). Informant Sandra claimed that a reporter into Thummim was frightened away from doing a story after having rocks thrown at her hotel window.

Although I never knowingly experienced such overt cruelty, several ambiguous 'coincidences' unnerved me. I received two "weird," albeit identical, anonymous phonecalls the first two Sundays of fieldwork after leaving church (fieldnotes 14-06-92: 4). The caller's wording and the background noises--as well as other events--could be interpreted as relating to a dark, Thummim-significant secret in my own past. Select members had access to this confidential information. The children's iciness on my last day of Thummim also unnerved me, especially when two older girls stared into my car--and then vacantly at me--as I walked towards it. After I left Thummim that day, I noted, "I thought I just filled up my gas tank but now it's empty" (fieldnotes 18-12-92: 21). I am not alleging that members had anything to do with such coincidences, merely that the ambiguity heightened my anxieties. Partly to alleviate my growing insecurity, I resided during the second phase of fieldwork at three separate residences and occasionally drove different vehicles. I did not know at the time that members had an ambulance, something that might have disturbed me. A child death--apparently a suicide or accidental death--occurred much later in Thummim, but like my experiences this death was enshrouded in mystery.

When I think about Thummim--two years after the fieldwork--a vague hopelessness sometimes overcomes me, merely because I and those around me daily relive the "Thummim" experience (secrecy, confusion, frustration, intense emotions, anger, self-doubt, paranoia, futility, indifference, rage, sadness) in our lives far removed from Thummim. Whether in the university, at a party, or in an intimate relationship, a secrecy system may "feel" like a conspiracy against its target's autonomy (even if it also, as Simmel says, preserves autonomy). The sense of lost autonomy is especially perplexing in situations of perceived injustice. Therefore, rather than veiling my supposed motive of revenge--as the alternative explanation to the secrecy thesis alleges--the thesis reveals the power of a secrecy system on the mental state of those who try to fight against it.

3. Paranoia

My entry failure and emotions raise the alternative explanation that the secrecy study is purely ethnocentric--

revealing my own ignorance, paranoia, and narcissism. This explanation regards the study as arising from the erroneous logic that because I don't understand, it must be secret, and that if there are secrets (e.g., about marriage) they relate to me. Truly my structural isolation in Thummim restricted my data collection and when my limited experiences seemed targeted in the sermons, I wondered if I was "paranoid." Cameron's (1943: 32) research on paranoia asserts, "[o]ut of fragments of the social behaviour of others, the paranoid individual organizes a pseudo-community whose functions then seem to be focussed on [her]." Cameron claims that paranoia results from inadequate social learning--but Thummim's milieu of reserved members, cryptic sermons, and everchanging decrees seems to conspire against learning and facilitate "pseudo-community" formation. "Paranoia" and secret society investigation merely necessitate the rigor (Simmons, 1985: 291) of "detective work" (Festinger, 1956) which has affirmed, for example, the plausibility that members deemed me a potential wife. Alternative explanations such as "Adam was merely confused about my role" do not explain the data, nor why I obtained the access I did, since he clearly was uninterested in my research.

II. An Analysis of "Pearls Before Swine"

1. Introduction

The previous chapters document secrecy's pervasiveness in Thummim. Secrecy, like privacy (Klopfer and Rubenstein, 1977: 53; Margulis, 1977), refers to selectively restricting the flow of information to or from oneself (Simmel, 1950; Wilsnack, 1980: 471-3). Secrecy is, however, more "extreme" than privacy. In its narrowest definitions, secrecy is involuntary and backed by sanctions (Shils, 1966: 283fn), and is nonconsensual since it protects unacceptable behaviours (Warren and Laslett, 1977).

A society that is based on a secret must control not only concealment but revelation of that secret. Indeed, secrecy, like disclosure, is merely a matter of degree, a measure of one's simultaneous revelation and concealment (Cozby, 1973; Simmel, 1950: 324). In secrecy, revelation itself is controlled in order to emphasize, exaggerate, or fabricate one reality while concealing another. Through providing such a "second world" alongside the manifest one, secrecy "aggressive[ly] defen[ds] ... against the other party" (Simmel, 1950: 330). The verb, "veiling," covers the continuum from total concealment ("total veiling"), to revealing and concealing at the same time ("partial veiling") to revelation ("unveiling"). (As Table 1 of Appendix C shows, such concrete veiling methods may be verbal or non-verbal).

The goal of the analysis is to show how Thummim maintains itself as a secret society, how members create an environment of ambiguity and nescience.[69] Following this introduction, the analysis introduces the secrecy-significant metaphor, "pearls before swine." This metaphor weaves throughout and illuminates the findings presented in subsequent sections. Such sections first, establish parallels between external and internal secrecy, and second, hint at secrecy's dialectical relation to power. By power I mean the capability of controlling resources and issuing sanctions.

2. The Metaphor, "Pearls Before Swine"

Theological Origins

This study appreciates the expedience of metaphors in portraying sociological insights. Bypassing literal interpretation and evoking vivid images, the ambiguous metaphor is prolific in parallel meanings and broad in its scope. Indeed, metaphors illuminate--while evading strict adherence to--concrete particulars.

The Biblical metaphor, "pearls before swine" originates in Jesus's sermon on the mount (Matthew 7:6). The Book of Mormon appropriates the sermon but has Jesus addressing the "Nephites"--purportedly a "lost tribe" of Israel inhabiting

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[69] "Nescience" means absence of knowledge but it lacks the negative connotations of the word, "ignorance," which might confuse the reader. Nescience is fundamental to any social system (Schutz, 1970).

the ancient Americas. In the Mormon text, Jesus warns the Nephites against hypocritically judging others. But then he advises:

> Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you (3 Nephi 14: 6).

Thereupon Jesus teaches that those who ask will receive, and those who seek shall find.[70]

The metaphor recurs in another purported revelation. Speaking for God, Joseph Smith stresses works and not just faith. Then he states:

> For it is not meet that the things which belong to the children of the kingdom should be given to them that are not worthy, or to dogs, or the pearls to be cast before swine (D&C 41: 6).

The next verse says, "[i]t is meet that my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., should have a house built..." apparently justifying Smith's material desires. This "Prophet's" attention to the swine-pearl metaphor heightens its

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[70] In the context of the preceding and ensuing verses, the pearls-before-swine metaphor seems decontextualized and conveys a mixed message. Although first condemned, for example, judging others is nevertheless necessary in order to discern who is worthy for that which is holy. Since askers and seekers get what they want, then even the "dogs" who are denied holy things in the previous verse, should get what is holy if they seek it. This exception for those who seek is apparent in the data--in which people cast and don't cast their pearls to swine. The seeming contradictions and decontextualization of these verses serrendipitously parallel events in Thummim.

ideological significance.[71] Indeed, a standard LDS book is entitled, *Pearl of Great Price.*

Given its "sacred" textual context, not "casting pearls before swine" refers to disallowing something sacred or highly valued to undergo desecration by that which is deemed unworthy, "unclean," and incapable of respecting it. What is a relevant "pearl" or "swine" in one social system of meaning might be irrelevant in another (Schutz, 1970). A given society, furthermore, may encounter many "swine" threatening desecration of whatever their valued "pearls" may be at a given moment. Nevertheless, by observing secrecy patterns of a given society over time, one may identify its most valued "pearls" and its methods of treating "swine."

Fieldwork Emergence of "Pearls before Swine"

The don't-cast-your-pearls-before-swine idea pervades Thummim. The metaphor emerged during my conversation with Derek and Ivan. When I asked Ivan how I can understand when everyone clams up with me. "Why cast your pearls before swine?" he responded (see "Attending the Secondary School" in Chapter 5, fieldnotes 15-12-92). As this conversation

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[71] Biblically significant, pearls are deemed so valuable that *Revelation* (21: 21) has them comprising the gates of heaven. In *Matthew* (13: 44-46), Jesus likens the Kingdom of Heaven to a hidden treasure, and to a merchant who sells everything in order to buy a pearl of great value. Though the Bible esteems pearls, it spurns swine. The Old Testament prohibits eating swine, deeming them "unclean" (*Deuteronomy* 14: 8; *Leviticus* 11: 7-8). The New Testament has Jesus commanding a legion of demons into a herd of swine *(Matthew 8: 32).*

indicates, the men were concerned about my involvement in two "warring" camps (i.e., the apostates and Thummim members). Yet their overriding concern over my failure to convert to Mormon Fundamentalism implies their sense that this was a 'spiritual war.' Just as Derek said soldiers had to choose between "Napoleon" and "Nelson," so I had to choose between members and apostates, literally between God and "the devil" with whom he concluded I was "going." Why I had "all this truth" and failed to "repent," "change," and manifest my belief through "works," disturbed these men. According to their system of relevance, my "works" and soul were the fundamental issue--despite their irrelevance in my own "religion" as Derek termed my research (see appendix B for a discussion of method). Thus Ivan quoted Jesus as saying that if you are not for Him you are against Him. Through the image-evoking, emotionally charged words, "devil," "witch," "dog," and "pig" (see Schutz, 1970: 97), he communicated that I opposed God's holy "Work."[72] Derek saw my "goal," not me, as the "problem." Indeed, he deemed my "perspective" deficient. Just as Derek said that dogs cannot see rosebushes from the perspective of painters, so pigs cannot appreciate the worth of pearls.

3. External Threat

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[72] Biblically based religions including Mormonism associate "dogs" "pigs" and "devils" with Satan (Kent, 1993).

Phenomenologically, these men were making explicit the implicit, omnipresent, disjuncture between our two different social systems of relevance or meaning systems which I had been trying to bridge (see Schutz, 1970: 82). Previously both members and I had colluded in order to perform some commonality (e.g., by talking about the opera or working). We dealt, however, with the salient disjuncture according to our respective meaning systems. Revelations of this disjuncture (such as my visit with an apostate) reinforced members' secrecy, which heightened my ambiguity (Schutz, 1970: 91) and reinforced my reliance on the framework that the researcher role provided. Reliance on our own meaning systems and recipes to alleviate the ambiguities of interaction merely exacerbated the disjuncture and attendant ambiguities. Consequently, the other's actions reinforced our respective allegations of "going with the devil" and "secrecy." Ivan's rhetorical comment, "[w]hy should we tell anyone what is sacred to us?" illustrates the "bind" I put myself in by using my own scheme of relevance and its recipes in order to deal with this disjuncture. A potential convert in the eyes of (some) members, I was Schutz's (1970: 94) "cultural hybrid" on the verge of two different patterns of group life. Yet until I substituted this new--albeit seemingly hidden--cultural pattern totally for that of my home group (Schutz, 1970: 94) members could not trust me ("we can't trust you"). From the in-group perspective it is

expedient to keep "pearls" from "swine," even to "lie," as one ex-member recalled a leader saying, in order to "beat the devil."

My conversation with Ivan and Derek illustrates that my affiliations with ex-members, my allegiance to my research ("You'll always be a researcher"), and my questioning of their taken for granted world, but most importantly my failure to convert--rendered me a severe threat (Schutz, 1970: 93). Metaphorically I was a "swine" that would "turn around and use that information to persecute [the group]"--or rather trample on the group's "pearls." The perception of a threat to something highly valued ("pearls before swine") is the essence of a secret society--the very reason for secrecy and the society's inception (Hazelrigg, 1969: 326; Simmel, 1950: 345).[73]

4. External Veiling

An examination of Thummim's secrecy patterns--its members' physical and social isolation, avoidances, silences, evasions, ignoring, obstructions, fabrications, secret Priesthood meetings, and "mind your own business"

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[73]Secret societies intensify social exclusiveness (Simmel, 1950: 365), tending to exclude everybody who is not explicitly included (Simmel, 1950: 369), and proscribing competing loyalties (e.g., the mafia, fraternal organizations, the KKK, political, or religions groups). This exclusive demand for total fidelity is also a feature of fundamentalism, which approximates many of the features of secret societies (e.g., separateness, seclusion, exclusivity, superiority, etc.) (Kellstedt and Smidt, 1991; Simmel, 1950).

rules--suggests threat about something. Yet certain practices--like fabricated family relationships, late-night polygamous visitations, secret plural marriages, different residences for family members--implicate members' illegal polygamy as a threatened "pearl." Just as Adam expressed concern about whether I was an "expert witness" and deemed me a "reporter," so the law and the media, both historically and currently, pose the direst threats to expose and destroy Priesthood marriage. Priesthood sexuality, more generally, is thus threatened. The following discussion refers to sex in its broadest sense (e.g., patriarchal power, reproduction, sensuality, etc.). In the face of such external threats, members conceal ages and numbers of wives, placement marriage, sex abuse, conflictual polygamous relationships and the male power for which the media criticizes them. Examples of concealing sexually significant relationships from outsiders include: the rule against outsiders attending graduation when members marry, the not-to-be-copied school newsletter (which says that the school prepares people for Priesthood marriages), the polygamist-naming class list that Ivan did not want me to have, and leaders' refusals to let me live with their families. Moreover, members' "monogamous" and sex-segregated seating on my first day contrasted their polygamous and non-sex-segregated seating the following week when charges against polygamists were dropped.

An irony of Thummim "secrecy" is that its members sometimes do "cast [their] pearls before swine," revealing the very information they characteristically conceal. Unlike drug dealers, who oscillate between extreme paranoia and flamboyant openness (Adler and Adler, 1980), Thummim members' revelations and concealments seem more controlled--even orchestrated from above.[74] Abraham, for example, who is a high ranking member, appeared on a documentary with his many cheerful wives and daughters who literally sang his praises.[75] Moreover, despite the obstructions and concealments to my fieldwork, the leader's wife (Eve) consistently invited me to work or visit and the leader (Adam) provided a daily role for me. The leading men did not conceal polygamy but rather preached about polygamy in my presence, just as Mary and Rhonda (both wives of high ranking men) praised polygamy to me. When Adam initially told me not to focus on "family" but "religion," which both related to marriage and sex, he was mandating, not my ignorance, but rather, a particular interpretive framework in which to place my knowledge. Indeed, instead of concealing his family from me, he told me to befriend them.

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[74] e.g., Adam instructed the congregation to leave upon a reporter's arrival, and issued rules such as "talk but don't talk."

[75] They sang: "My daddy is so good because he does the things he should. My daddy is the best man in the world." Notably, one wife admitted she was jealous. Ex-members claim that that wife is unfavoured because she speaks her mind.

Privileged with such intimate, trusted information, the secret society neophyte's actions are closely guarded by members. Indeed, my failure to recognize the "truth" with which members entrusted me, justified their subsequent secrecy (see "Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5). Thus Thummim's bazaar and dance to which I had been invited, and quickly the church and school themselves, became restricted territory--just as all of Thummim was restricted from outsiders.

5. Contrast the Secret with the Dominant Society

Thummim's threatened value (its "pearl") is a version of sexuality that contrasts and vehemently opposes the alleged sexual hypocrisies of the dominant monogamous society. Lyman (1964: 87) theorizes that extreme opposition to the dominant society's goals and institutions renders a secret society "alienative" in contrast to more accepting, "conformative" secret societies. The vehemence of its opposition stems from its emergence out of, and attempts to distinguish itself from, the dominant society (Simmel, 1950). The secret society's "attitude" to this dominant society may be either "instrumental," to effect change, or "expressive," existing for its own benefit (Lyman, 1964: 87).

Premanifesto (see chapter 2) and current polygamous Mormonism exemplify Lyman's "alienative-expressive" secret societies--especially with regard to sexuality. Indeed,

polygamous Mormons' historical (see chapter 2) and current (see chapters 3-5) interaction with Gentiles betrays their polemical obsession with amplifying the sexual contrast between nonbelievers and believers. Believers historically and currently respond to allegations that they "mask [their] sensuality" (Cannon, 1974: 65) with their own allegations of inevitably adulterous, perverted monogamists. Believers also (sometimes publicly) defend their own sexual superiority,[76] and conceal their practices from outsiders as previously discussed.

In Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy, believers comprise a "team" that "performs" illusions for, and then responds to the performances of, the Gentiles with whom they "dramatically" interact. Yet any "team" responds in a way that is consistent with, and reflects, its own system of relevances (Schutz, 1970). Adam, for example, contrasted polygynists' clean morals with their accusers who took prostitutes (see first Sunday). Member Mary contrasted the "loose morals of the world" where, she alleged, everyone "sleeps around" indiscriminately, taking no responsibility,

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[76] To reiterate, Mormon polygynists argue that plural marriage eliminates prostitution, adultery, infanticide, and divorce. Supposedly plural marriage protects female chastity, and provides monogamy's "degraded" (widowed or single) women their maternal "rights" to have children sired by "superior" men (see Whittaker, 1984: 62). In addition, plural marriage purportedly rids the world of the sexual indulgence that monogamy--the "lambing ground of bestiality"--breeds.

to Thummim members' responsibility ("we take care of and love our spouses"). Indeed, as Simmel (1950: 362) says, the secret society's "secret surrounds it like a boundary, outside of which is nothing but ... opposite matter...." Since a certain version of sexual purity seems to be members' "central myth" (Schutz, 1970: 85), then their socially constructed "outside world" diabolically opposes that purity. To Schutz (1970: 87), such stereotyped views arise from a "vicious circle" of the group feeling misunderstood, then opposing the outside world which reinforces its criticism. Ignorance of the wider society caused by social withdrawal also reinforces such stereotypes (Moore and Tumin, 1949: 792).

6. The High Value of the Secret of Sex

That "boy-girl relationships" are Thummim members' "greatest concern" *(Thummim Elementary-Secondary School Newsletter,* 1992: 5), betrays sexuality's preeminence in this society. If, as Foucault (1980: 78) claims, we "direct the question of what we are, to sex," then Thummim members epitomize this questioning. Members' prevailing concern with sexuality implicates it as one of Thummim's highly valued "pearls" that they must protect from potential "swine" (i.e., desecrators). Indeed, an ex-member said that in order to avoid "cast[ing their] pearls before swine," women previously were allowed to wear pantsuits instead of their modest dresses when in public. This "allowance" implies that

the public was unworthy of seeing the dresses which symbolized the group's identity.

This identity glorifies a corporeally and cosmically significant sexuality. Indeed, both mortals and purported Gods dress to accentuate gender differences, live in polygynous relationships, and procreate prolifically.[77] Member Mary's enamour about "liv[ing] forever and reproduc[ing]! [and] ... having more and more babies" illustrates this procreative celebration. Thummim fits Foucault's (1980: 124) description of a society that:

> stake[s] its life and death on sex... place[s] its hopes for the future in sex... [and] subordinate[s] its soul to sex by [thinking it] ... constitut[es] the soul's most secret and determinant part.

Written on members' souls, sex proclaims itself in the language of Thummim sermons, and is the main goal of the school which prepares people for marriage.

Thummim members additionally celebrate sexuality's intimate connection to power. "The only men who become Gods," for example, "are those who enter into polygamy." High ranking men, therefore, have more sexual and procreative opportunity than others. The highest ranking (e.g., Adam and the Prophet) even determine others' sexualities through decreeing marriage placements and rules

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[77] Such mortals anticipate an afterlife in which sex outpleasures its earthly emulation--at least according to one early Mormon leader (Cannon, 1974: 66).

about sexual practices. Further evidence of sex's connection to power is that Priesthood marriage practices promise to save and "perfect" women and to produce "superior" "Children of the Millennium."

7. Internal Veiling

While glorifying sexuality and bringing it into full relief through comparisons to the dominant "world," Fundamentalists' practices seem to conceal sex from themselves. In attempts to prevent, control, and restrict sexual attraction and unauthorized action, members advocate modest dress codes, discourage romance, and prohibit flirting and dating. Members limit information about sex (e.g., as indicated by allegations of the expurgated biology textbooks; sermons against "ugly magazines," etc.), while rendering marriageable those whom the dominant society regards as too young and naive. Members' secret, hasty, and frequently uncelebrated weddings to secretly appointed spouses further suggests the attempt to control sex. In general, plural marriages themselves limit female sexual opportunity. More sexual restriction is evidenced in marital rules (of Chastity and Moderation) that limit intercourse and prohibit adultery, and in members' strict surveillance of sexualities.

Control over sex is a constant theme in the sermons that, for example, decry lust, exalt "clean" people, and denigrate wives' jealousies. Yet despite sex's salience as a

paramount concern, members strongly deny it, as in my conversation with Ivan and Derek (see "Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5). These men attributed sexual obsession to the wider society. Members' denials and other practices of concealment obscure sex's importance. Even their terminology about sex is veiled. Indeed, "feeling fat.... September," was Niva's way to talk around the very pregnancy she communicated.[78] Similarly, "going around corners and fiddling," "difficult test," "bedroom scenes," and "going with" women, respectively refer to unmarried, married, and extramarital sex, given the contexts of the sermons in which they occurred.

Descriptive terms about sex encompass associations and emotional "fringes" (Schutz, 1970: 19). The contexts in which such descriptions occur and the speaker's emotional--often angry--tone evoke polarized images of sex. During one sermon, for example, Adam contradistinguished the "virtuous woman" who "grows old beautifully" and has no "facial lines," with "ugly magazines." Other than implying ugliness, Adam did not talk about the women who posed for such

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[78] Just as members *talk around* the sexuality that they deny, so they also *talk around* other sensitive issues--e.g., those relating to power. It seemed, for example, that Eve sympathized with me after Thor kicked me out of the Priesthood meeting. Thus her comment to me that "some people believe differently" strategically conveyed sympathy while conveying her outward loyalty to the not-to-be questioned Priesthood (see "Priesthood meeting" and "Thummim women" in chapter 5).

magazines. Such silence contrasted his garrulous attention to the heaven-bound "virtuous woman." In another sermon, Abraham said he was "disgust[ed]," not "tempt[ed]," when presented with the opportunity to have an extramarital affair. As with the external secrecy previously discussed, these everyday internal practices do not merely conceal but also reveal the society's central secrets. Such revelation, however, strategically exalts one pole of sex while denigrating the other. Thus members construct conflict between glorification and denigration, between celebration and suppression, of sexuality. Altogether, these concealing-and-revealing practices illustrate Foucault's (1980: 77) point that sexuality is both "restrained and loquacious at the same time."

Members' veiling with both outsiders and each other (i.e., external and internal secrecy) must be understood in terms of its relation to power. Despite its ubiquity, secrecy is not randomly distributed in Thummim. Instead power impels secrecy, and as will be discussed, secrecy shadows power. Power impels external secrecy by instructing members, for example, to "talk but don't talk" to investigators, and to leave upon a reporter's arrival. Power also fosters internal secrecy, by issuing decrees, for example, to "mind your own business" and to control thoughts and feelings. Although Adam appears to have emphasized secrecy rules in the face of the external threat I posed,

these rules are also general internal practices (i.e., amongst members themselves). Internal veiling about sex and marriage is institutionalized as indicated by the previously described sexual practices.

Members' collective hiding from sex and their overlooking of contradictions seems to be a way to live up to an idealized illusion that contrasts the alleged lusts of monogamy (Goffman, 1959: 34; see Ho and Kwok, 1991; Humphreys, 1970: 119; 134; Karp, 1973: 447, for parallel examples). Indeed, to make explicit the sexuality that members seemingly repress (Cozby, 1973: 77) is to render oneself immoral--as Derek and Ivan alleged I was for merely asking about it (see "Attending the Secondary School, Chapter 5).[79] Similarly, to admit unhappiness in the "perfect" marriage system, or to make salient its tacitly unacknowledged stratification system is to betray one's harbouring of the "spirit of the devil." Members who question these taken for granted notions comprise internal threats. Thus the metaphorical "swine" that trample on the group's "pearls" are not merely external but internal

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[79] The tacit rules about not talking about sex parallel the stated rules about power, for example about not questioning the Priesthood. "Doubting is not faith" as Derek told me ("Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5). Interestingly, "modern" religion tries not to dispel, but cast doubt on, some of the most taken-for-granted assumptions--such as the existence of God. Feminist theology, for example, explores the centuries-old taken for granted maleness of God.

phenomenon. Nevertheless, since revelation of their true feelings might usher reprimands by themselves or others, (i.e., sanctions for betraying the secrets) members may wish to present themselves as emotionally and sexually impenetrable. Perhaps this desire for impenetrability was why women tended to be stoic (or bubbly) and men, aloof. "[N]ormative system[s], according to Moore and Tumin (1949: 791), "may suffer more from knowledge of violations than from the violations themselves." A wife's discovery, for example, of her sister-wife's violation of the Law of Chastity, led to community upheaval ("Marriage Practices," Chapter 3) and thus to a less restrictive rule about marital sex. Revelations of leaders' sexual deviance, as in this example, potentially could shatter members' faith by showing that sex has vanquished God's elect. Furthermore, widespread knowledge of the prevalence of private, marital turmoil potentially could destroy members' faith in and willingness to practise plural marriage.[80] This possibility might have been Adam's foremost reason for discouraging my contact with apostates (who claim to have had negative marital

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[80] I want to emphasize that this statement does not reflect any bias against plural marriage, merely that jealousies are problematic (as Adam himself implied a couple of times). As mentioned in chapter three, plural marriage occurs in the context of other hardships, e.g., little privacy, low socio-economic standard of living, etc. I also cannot ignore ex-member informants' numerous allegations and personal experiences of mental abuse.

experiences in Thummim).[81] Indeed, Adam's angry sermon about going to "harlots" to find out about virtue, i.e., how two women could love one man and each other as well, conveys specifically that he did not want them to tell me about marriage, "the fundamentals of our faith" ("Third Sunday," Chapter 4). Unlike a "harlot" (i.e., an apostate) who freely gives away her sexuality--an implicit metaphor for secrets--so a virtuous woman guards her sexuality (and thus her secrets). Members' surface appearance of sister-wife harmony and perfect virtue confirms the leaders' wisdom in their creation of marriages. Ultimately such collective, private secret-keeping affirms members' faith and sustains an illusion of total solidarity.

8. Internal Secrecy

Theoretical and empirical work seem to buy into a parallel illusion of solidarity by exaggerating the cohesion and "reciprocal confidence" of secret society members (Goffman, 1959; Ponse, 1976; Schaefer, 1980; Simmel, 1950: 345-71). Yet the very conflict and misunderstanding that Goffman and Simmel say are minimized in the secret society, seem to pervade them (Hawthorn, 1956; Sutherland, 1975) and therefore implicate internal secrecy (Brandt, 1980). Hazelrigg (1969: 330) proposes a positive relationship

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[81] In the context of hinting that I should not visit apostates, Adam told me that he does not know what goes on in other families, thus dissociating himself from that apostate's negative experience.

between the intensity of such internal conflict and "total inclusion of [secret society] members' activities, sentiments, and ideas." Despite, therefore, the secret society's unifying external secret (Simmel, 1950), it also, paradoxically, encompasses potential destructors of that cohesion.

Fundamentalist Mormonism exacerbates the potential for internal conflict since community secrets are not merely about abstract concepts, but about relationships that intimately challenge social cohesion. Indeed, social relations are more important than knowledge for securing commitment (Jacobs, 1987) so tampering with such relations may wreak social havoc. Because secrets destroy solidarity, Shils (1956: 35) maintains the solution is absorption into an "undifferentiated ideological community." Yet he overlooks the secrecy-fostering aspects of such ideologies. Although breaches of internal secret keeping potentially could rupture into conflict, internal secret keeping also functions to subdue conflict because of the power impelling it. As Brandt (1980) found in her fieldwork with pueblos, the powerful members actually cultivated ignorance of the outside world for their own political benefit. Yet it seems that in Thummim, it is not merely the outside world but the inside one in which members are "in the dark." By this I mean they take for granted that they will not know what we in the larger society do know (e.g., decisions about

marriage, residence, and what to do). It seems that being "in the dark" might facilitate conflict resolution.

9. Mortification of Internal Threats

In Thummim, the leaders' sermons are power's main vehicle to convey authoritative messages about highly valued "pearls" and about "swine" who threaten desecration of those pearls. Through his preaching and other roles, Adam dramaturgically "directed" and controlled the illusion his team was fostering (Goffman, 1959: 97). In the words of Foucault (1980: 78), these such sermons render sex "the explanation for everything." Just as Foucault (1980: 147) posits that power speaks of as well as to sex, so the veiled language of Adam's sermons convey polarized sexual images and also target sexualities--either for potential exaltation or mortification. Exaltation is members' otherworldly reward in which members participate vicariously by following the Priesthood in their mortal lives. An interpretive section in Chapter 5 discusses the possibility, for example, that Adam's sermons about marrying prestigious men and wives not wanting their husbands to take more wives, were directed at me, Misty, and his wives, possibly to prepare his wives for another sister-wife.

While exaltation is the positive reward for secret-keeping, mortification is the punishment for internal breaches or threats to secrecy (and thus to the society's sexuality system). In veiled ways the sermons deal with the

threat of "swine" to their "pearls." Sermons magnify the threat of external threats to their sexuality system, thus exacerbating the disjuncture of meaning systems between the secret and the dominant monogamous society. One sermon, for example, contrasted the freedoms extended to homosexuals, i.e., those who misuse their sexuality, to the persecution of members who live their "holy religion." In addition to magnifying external threat the sermons magnify internal threat to their sexuality system. Wives who don't want their husbands to take more wives, teenagers who "fiddle" with each other, dress code deviants, etc. comprise such threats.

The neophyte poses a unique double threat since she is on the external-internal boundary--entering from the outside world and entrusted with vital secrets. Her very presence renders the secret society vulnerable to exposure. My position as a neophyte therefore offers a unique opportunity to explore the mortification which sources indicate that deviant members (internal threats) also experience in this secret society. The difference is that for the neophyte, mortification is likely to be much more intense since her very loyalty and the "stripping" of her old and replacing her of her new identity are at issue. The entrant into a secret society, as in a total institution, undergoes a

series of humiliations and self mortification (Goffman, 1961: 14).[82] Since the society under study is based on a version of sex that contrasts the supposed version of the dominant world, her sexuality is a paramount concern and is therefore the reference point for targeting and mortification. As Ofshe (1986) shows, (such) attacks on one's core identity in which sexuality is central, is a sophisticated means of thought control, often resulting in conversion. Sermons "dramatically interacted" with me as if I was a potential teammate to buy into their illusion of sexual purity. My "performances," especially as members perceived them as aligning or deviating from their illusion of sexuality in the celestial kingdom, were integral to members' "performances" for me--performances in which sex was the main concern. While early sermons targeted my identity (e.g., my religion and possibly my "careless husband") in apparent attempts to persuade me into plural marriage, later sermons mortified me by targeting my situation and highlighting the threat I posed to expose plural marriage secrets. Sometimes such mortification sexualized my deviance. Sermons, for example, evoked negative images such as the harlot after I demonstrated my

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[82]Entry into Total institutions comprises a series of abasements, profanations, humiliations of the self (Goffman, 1961: 14), role dispossessions, admission procedures, obedience tests, and stripping of identity kits (Goffman 1961: 15-20).

disloyalty, and the virtueless woman after I had violated the dress code and was insubordinate. Clearly the community closed up on me because I did not conform to their version of sexuality--which also meant surrending to the invisible and visible power behind it.

Neophytes' and deviants' marginal positions and low commitment renders them security threats (Simmel, 1950), making it imperative that their secrets be known, and their selves attacked from that position (Goffman, 1961: 23). From the perspective of secret society leaders, therefore, (offensive) penetration of neophytes' secrets is imperative in order to test and secure their commitment, as well as to magnify their threat. This penetration and resulting "shaming milieu" (Lifton, 1963: 423) is crucial in order to gain the power over the total person that the secret society requires (Simmel, 1950), and to achieve a sense of shared equality. As Henley (1973, cited in Derlega and Chaikin, 1977: 109) says, "personal information flows opposite to the flow of authority." The leaders must obtain others' personal information to preserve the security of the society and ensure protection of sacred pearls.

The analysis thus far has shown that secrecy is a matter of concealing and selectively revealing (in terms of both what is revealed and who it is revealed to). These practices are not merely external but internal and tend to focus on a socially constructed version of sexuality that

contrasts that of the dominant society. The saying, "don't cast your pearls before swine" metaphorically conveys this secret keeping from threats to this sexuality. Power impels the community secret keeping and mortifies those who deviate from it.

10. Secrecy's Shielding of Power

A final note on power's hiddenness is in order. Through the verbal techniques of metaphor, allegory, decontextualization, and talking around issues, sermons totally veil their (spy) sources, thus conveying the quality of omniscience. Nonverbal messages are also veiled via the diffuseness of the sermons: the speaker addresses a crowd and, although unveiled in his typically angry emotion, conveys no nonverbal clues (e.g., eye contact) about whom he might be targeting. Instead, he might send mixed messages, for example, smiling when shaking the "swine's" (i.e., the threat's) hand. Members, being veiled in their appearance as usual, further confound interpretive difficulties and sometimes leaders even instruct them to be secretive (e.g., in Larry's case, Larry did not know that he was kicked out and the person who told him almost got kicked out for telling him). Power (to mortify and determine sex) is hidden through veiledness and through structure (e.g., others obeying their commands, others as gatekeepers, spies) but always betrayed via symbols in the setting (e.g., the church's setup). As Foucault (1980: 86) says, power's

"success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms." Indeed in this society power distances itself from, while targeting, both the "pearl" of sex and the "swine" who threaten it. Adam's courting in Chapter 5, for example, indicates his distance from the sexuality he also controls. Thus Adam's veiled communications--whether through songs, sermons, or conversation--seemed to shield him from his words, allowing him to betray more profound and personal information than he might have been able to if he had spoken directly. If he truly deemed me a potential wife to himself, for example, then directly communicating this information might have disaffected me or his wives. Through the sermons' and songs' cryptic constructions of reality, Adam could prepare members for an eventuality while at the same time hindering their resistance. Sermons' messages themselves--that decried wives' jealousies, for example, and impelled internal secrecy--further hindered resistance. It seems, therefore, that power cultivates secrecy in order to have its way. Although I have merely touched on power's hiddenness, this area requires more exploration in the future.

III. Discussion and Conclusions

Like Thummim, every social system is a secrecy system with its own covert, and often overt, rules to "shut up and keep sweet." Indeed, social organization would be impossible without such everyday secrecy. A clear parallel to Thummim's

internal-external secrecy is the family. Abusive families, for example, are known to foster a collective denial of their abuse, a denial that sometimes manifests itself in idealized versions of family. Relatively powerful family members simultaneously may heighten both external and internal threats to their secrets of abuse. Mortification of those members who threaten to make explicit the tacitly understood abuse is a common theme, along with victims' participation in the collective denial. Indeed, in any meaning system, those who make explicit the implicit threaten to rupture the established order, an order that provides structure, roles, and security (see Pollner and Wikler, 1985). Mortification of secret-rupturers is therefore a stabilizing feature for maintaining social order, for maintaining collective faith in a central myth. Paradoxically one's identity is that which is often mortified in secrecy systems. Just as Fundamentalists mortified the sexuality they also exalted, so, to use an extreme example, Hitler mortified the Jew that he secretly was. In a sense, then, we are the "swine" from whom we keep our "pearls." We all keep secrets--even from ourselves--when our systems of relevances don't permit us to acknowledge things.

The external-internal secrecy link proposes that repression (sexual or otherwise) is merely internalization of the secret of the group with which one strongly

identifies. Anti-Zionist Holocaust deniers illustrate this principle. While heightening the threat of external "Zionist conspirators," whom they see as driving them into hiding, anti-Zionists also keep their secret of anti-semitism from themselves--albeit still revealing it in strategically veiled ways. One such zealot, revisionist historian David Irving, reportedly relies on omissions, "linguistic cover-ups," "ambiguity," "innuendo," "alter[ing] the sequence of events," and "avoid[ing] ugly facts and invent[ing] nicer ones" (Jackel, 1993). The current study has discovered similar means by which members deal with their secret of sexuality. The relationship between these means and power is a goal for future research. Indeed, the current study could be fortified by examining power's specific means of hiding. Adam's distanced courting, his reliance on other people to tell messages or drop hints, his metaphorical, diffuse preaching, and his contradictory openness in comparison to members, all seem to be ways in which power hides from but simultaneously accomplishes its goals. Power's paradoxical hiddenness and salience seems to parallel the paradox of sex's hidden salience which I discussed in the thesis.

Speaking of sex, a note on its relation to the secret society is in order. Nietzsche (1980: 85) captures the essence of this and other secret societies when he says that people's "instinct for preservation" teaches them a "passionate and exaggerated worship of 'pure forms.'" The

deification of sex which the current study reveals, is the ultimate preserver. Indeed, the reproduction-favouring ideology of this secret society eliminates the need for active proselytizing, effectively protecting the group from neophytes who potentially could expose the group. The resulting kinship loyalties reinforce secret society loyalties (Tefft, 1980a: 32). Indeed, Fundamentalists' (placement and polygynous) marriage system provides many opportunities to renew, broaden, and entrench allegiances in an increasingly complex network of relationships. This entrenching facilitates group survival and counters the dyadic intimacy that potentially could hinder group survival (Kanter, 1972; see Atwood, 1985, for a fictionalized account). The group's strong deterrence of romantic attachments, therefore, is strategic in accomplishing the fundamental survivalist aim of secret societies (Simmel, 1950). A look at how other secret societies manage sex might illuminate their means of survival.

The pondering of secrecy and sex leads to examination of the dominant society's monogamy. By standing outside of this society's scheme of relevance, Fundamentalists have been able to see the contradictions and secrets--such as adultery and prostitution--of so-called "monogamy." The dominant monogamist society's historical persecutions of Mormons might have been related to such allegations of their unacknowledged "hypocrisies." Thus they may have been trying

to keep their secrets to themselves. In another example, the mainstream Mormon Church's turnabout with regard to polygamy and its subsequent persecution of Fundamentalists also can be seen as a secret its members kept from themselves. Not only did the existence of Fundamentalists pose an external threat to such secret keeping but also Church members (e.g., Juanita Brooks) posed internal threats by making explicit this secret. The pattern, therefore, of internal-external secrecy seems ubiquitous in various social systems.

The relation between sexual practice and secrecy is incomplete, however, without an in-depth examination of power. Indeed, the power-secrecy-sex link is a salient theme in religion, and is most pronounced amongst extreme, patriarchal religious. One example is Branch Davidian leader, David Koresh. Koresh taught that only his "seed" was pure, monopolized sexual access to female (even already married) devotees (U.S. Department of Justice, 1993: 207), and appears to have cultivated believers' secrecy. Parallel religious leaders include David Berg of the Children of God, Jonestown's Jim Jones, and Canadian cult leader Roch Thieriault. All these leaders exercised immense power and sexual control over their devotees, and also appear to have cultivated the secrecy that enhanced their immense power. Future research could examine the power-sex links and their relation to the internal-external secrecy that this thesis discusses. It seems that, just as in this study, power

cultivates secrecy for its own ends. It would seem that the secrecy-power-sex link would be quite different in feminine-based religions in which sexualities are purportedly more overt and social equality reigns (see Eisler, 1988; Christ and Plaskow, 1992; Pagels, 1979). But such groups probably do have their secrets, internal and external. An examination of their secrecy patterns might inform us more about the ways in which power works in different social systems.

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[83] Note: *City Journal, Timber Valley News, Timber Review ... ed, Canada West, Province Report,* and *Debonair* are pseudonyms. I have marked identifying factors (such as the year and file number) of Timber court documents with XXXX. As a reminder, both "Timber" and "Thummim" are pseudonyms.

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APPENDIX A: QUICK REFERENCES

Abbreviated References

D&C--*Doctrine and Covenants*, one of the standard works of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The *D&C* contains purportedly divine revelations received by Joseph Smith and other Latter-day Saints.

JD--*Journal of Discourses*, a collection of sermons delivered by various Church leaders during the years of 1854-1866.

LDS--Latter-day Saints (i.e., "Mormons," also referred to as "Saints").

FLDS--the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the main Fundamentalist sect. The FLDS is also known as The Work and has a connection to the **UEP**, the United Effort Plan. The UEP is a leader-run land trust. See footnote 23 for more information.

AUB--the "Apostolic United Brethren," a break-off from the FLDS Work.

Definitions / Terms

Polygamy--the practice of having more than one spouse. This spouse knows about the other(s). In other words, polygamy is not bigamy (i.e., having spouses that one's spouse does not know about). In Mormon polygamous practice, however, polygamy sometimes appears to be bigamous.

Polygyny--a man having more than one wife at a time.

Polyandry--a woman having more than one husband at a time.

Law of Celestial Marriage--Joseph Smith's revelation about eternal marriage. The term became synonymous, however, with **Patriarchal Marriage**, the **Principle of Plural Marriage**, the **Law of Abraham**, and the term, **Mormon Polygamy**. In practice, these terms refer to polygyny with a Priesthood man (i.e., an aspiring God). Reaching the highest degree of glory in the afterlife, i.e., "celestial exaltation," depended, in part, upon acceptance and practice of plural marriage.

Priesthood--the legitimate, hierarchical channel of authority stemming from God to the Prophet (i.e., the leader who receives revelations to guide the believers) and then to men as husbands/fathers.

Manifesto--the LDS Church's official declaration repudiating the practice of plural marriage.

Fundamentalist--post-manifesto Mormons who advocate polygamy. The LDS Church excommunicates them upon discovery.

"The Work"--the term with which members of the group under study (i.e., the FLDS sect) refer to their religion, i.e., "God's Work."

Thummim--pseudonym for the Canadian branch of the FLDS Work, the geographical centre of which is Colorado City (previously called "Short Creek," Arizona). According to Mormon legend, the urim and the *thummim* are mystical "seeing stones" with which Joseph Smith translated the angelically revealed *Book of Mormon* on golden tablets.

Sister-wife--the term for a co-wife (who is married to the same husband), with whom a wife hopes to have a loving, sisterly relationship (see Cannon, 1992). A **plural wife** is a second or later, and thus illegal, wife of a man.

Important Dates

pre 1843--allegations of Joseph Smith's affairs/secret polygyny.

1843--officially recorded date of Joseph Smith's revelation on celestial (plural) marriage.

1844--Smith's martyrdom.

1852--LDS Church officially announces the plural marriage doctrine, before which much of it was secret and rumoured.

1856-1890--Persecution increasingly drives the polygynists underground to the point where Church leaders consider abandoning plural marriage.

1886--At a secret, underground meeting of Priesthood men, Prophet-President John Taylor has a revelation reaffirming the necessity of plural marriage. Fundamentalists derive their authority from Taylor.

1890--Church Prophet-President Wilford Woodruff announces the manifesto, thus officially declaring the abandonment of plural marriage

1890-1904--Period of ambiguity and 'official doubletalk' concerning plural marriage.

1904--Church Prophet-President Smith announces a second manifesto after which the Church excommunicates polygynists.

1929--The main Fundamentalist group, "The Work," forms. Eventually The Work's Prophet, LeRoy Johnson, incorporates his church as the FLDS. This "Work" congregates mainly at Short Creek (Colorado City, AR/Hildale, UT), and suffers break-offs and persecution throughout the years (e.g., the 1953 "Short Creek Raid"). The Canadian branch, Thummim, emerges in the late 1940s.

APPENDIX B: METHODS

I. Methodology

This section comprises an initial discussion of the methodology and ethics of this study. Then the section explores the researcher's secrecy, i.e., her refusal to cast her "pearls" before "swine."

Participant-Observation

Initial interpersonal contacts with the group over 17 days yielded 11 distinct participant-observation episodes of less than 6 hours each. Six months later I had almost daily contact, 1-8 hours a day, for 3 weeks, but this contact itself was confined in several ways--to certain people, places, and events. It is probable that some women and children were forbidden contact with me and that those who did talk to me had to account to their superiors (i.e., husbands or the bishop) for what they said.
Yet inherent in the data's limitations (i.e., the small amount of fieldwork and members' control over my access), is the relevant data itself.

Official Sources

Thummim members' distrust of me and the difficulty of understanding Thummim necessitated my reliance on other sources. I tried, for example, to use official sources (e.g., Vital Statistics, court documents, agencies regarding land ownership, Mormon Church, etc.). Ironically, however, gatekeeping officials required me to provide the very information I was seeking. Furthermore, these official sources upheld the privacy of the individuals their records concerned. Vital Statistics, for example, required Adam's consent for me to investigate basic demographics (e.g., numbers of wives, ages, family structures, etc.). The Mormon Church's genealogical records, furthermore, do not recognize Fundamentalist plural wives. All in all, these official sources seemed to reinforce the problem of discovering Thummim. This discovery therefore necessitated my innovation and persistence. I found that the most efficient way, for example, to obtain a map of Thummim, was to rent a small plane and take aerial photos with a telephoto lens. Furthermore, my constant presence at one agency facilitated an invitation to non-public information. Despite some headway with official sources, I found that the richest, most valuable resources were ex-members who not only provided the genealogies that Vital Statistics did not, but stories about life in Thummim.

Ex-member and Non-member Interviews

I talked to several (12+) non-member informants (e.g., neighbours, professionals, employers, etc.) as well as a total of 18 ex-members who had left the group between 25 and 4 years ago. Several of these ex-members continue contact with group members. Some (3) ex-members had lived in both Thummim and Colorado City, thus providing the larger (FLDS) perspective. Another had never been to Thummim, but was a member of a dissenting faction in Colorado City. Although I talked to a total of 17 ex-members about their involvement in Thummim, I interviewed only 10. Sometimes interviews occurred in the presence of ex-member family members who added helpful comments, clarifications, corroborations, or alternative views. As some ex-members frequently discuss Thummim with each other, and several of them rely on the same member source for current information, they tend to have similar explanations. The errors of these explanations may be exaggerated in their retelling, thus compounding ex-member biases.

Interviews with ex-members were open-ended, broadly focused about the group and the interviewee's personal experiences, and typically lasted 2-5 hours apiece. Additional, ongoing contact with key informants was necessary. Interviews tended to be casual and usually occurred in the homes of ex-members who often showed me pictures, tracts, and other helpful items. I typically asked interviewees to sign interview release forms, explained my study and ethical assurances (e.g., use of pseudonyms, the voluntary nature of questions, etc.), and tape recorded them with their knowledge.

Description of Ex-members

Of the 10 main ex-members, 4 were males, 3 of whom left the group when they were teenagers, and another who left in his 20's. One of these men had married in the group but his wife stayed when he left. Of the 6 women, 4 had been plural wives in the group and 2 had left (with their mothers) as unmarried teenagers. The plural wives left without their husbands and sometimes some of their children. It appears that first wives--whom ex-members claim are often the most favoured--are less likely than plural wives to leave the group. When they do leave, however, it appears that they tend to leave with their husbands. Given the generally less favoured status of plural wives--perhaps especially these ones--their accounts may be particularly negative.

Ethical Concerns

An ethics committee reviewed and accepted my proposal before I began this project. Initially I had told member

Mary about some of my ethical concerns and promises. But because Adam seemed uninterested in them when I had begun to tell him, I did not pursue the topic with him (see "Entry Negotiations," Chapter 4). Nevertheless, I plan send him an overview (e.g., an executive summary) of the thesis. I also will inform him about how to obtain a copy of the thesis.

Several ex-members with whom I talked conveyed tensions about their close relatives (parents, siblings, children) who were still in the group. The husbands/fathers of these relatives frequently forbade them contact with "apostate" relatives--especially if these "apostates" had persecuted them by denouncing the group in public spheres (such as the media). I do not want to jeopardize these relations further. I attempt, therefore, to refrain from detailed accounts while retaining the integrity of particular vignettes. Since some information inadvertently may betray sources, and thus the corresponding pseudonym traced to pinpoint individuals, I opted to use different pseudonyms, sometimes for the same individual. In cases, however, in which the individual's position (e.g., bishop, or particular apostate) is crucial, I have retained the same pseudonym. Newspaper and other sources that might identify Thummim (a pseudonym) or the local community, i.e., "Timber," are also pseudonyms.

Information to Facilitate Interpretation

Throughout the thesis I indicate, unless the context does already, the source of the data (e.g., members, ex-members, non-members, fieldnotes, or other source). My fieldnote and interview sources convey, through numerical format, the day-month-year and the page or line number (e.g., fieldnotes 07-06-92: 1; interview 01-01-92: 700). These numbers help me identify my source for further reference. They also facilitate the reader's understanding that the discovery was chronological. (See, for example, "Testing Decrees about Red and Christmas" in Chapter 5.) Most importantly, however, such numbers signify distinct sources of support for the information presented. Such distinct sources are then corroborated and triangulated with other sources when possible. My corroborated lists are essential for the reader to gain a sense of validity and for showing my confidence regarding certain information (e.g., about marriage). I conducted interviews on the following dates: 01-01-92, 02-11-92, 03-11-92, 13-11-92, 02-12-92, 03-12-92, 06-12-92, 13-12-92, 05-01-93, 06-01-93, 07-01-93, and 09-01-93. My fieldnotes are from June, Oct. 2, Nov. 1-3 and 25, and Dec. of 1992, as well as from Jan. 4, 1993.

Whenever I use quotes to indicate what members said, it is necessary to understand that such quotes were not tape-recorded. Rather, I sharpened my listening and memory skills so that I could approximate members' language in my note-

taking afterwards. Quotes from ex-members, on the other hand, are excerpts from verbatim interview transcriptions.

Data Analysis and Thesis Write-up

For many months after conducting fieldwork, I tried to determine Thummim's context itself. To this end, I categorized and compared interview and fieldnote information about the Priesthood, marriage system, employment, gender roles, plus any other category that emerged as a feature of Thummim (e.g., father-child relationships, Mothers of Zion, marriage relationships, money, abuse, UEP, etc.). I also created categories for secrets. Such secrets related to, or seemed implicit in, other categories. Because it seemed that ex-members took for granted much of the secrecy of their former world, I began to take into account their own nescience about particulars of Thummim and notice some of their information that implied or pointed to secrecy. Despite its salience, therefore, secrecy still seemed somewhat hidden in Thummim's context. Thus in order to gain understanding I triangulated sources and wrote about Thummim's context, i.e., Chapter 3.

Just as the word "thummim" refers to a seeing stone with which Joseph Smith translated the *Book of Mormon,* so chapter 3 comprises another type of "seeing stone." This seeing stone provides the reader with necessary background to interpret my fieldwork (i.e., Chapters 4 and 5). For example, my speculation ("Explanation: Suspicions that I was a Potential Wife" in Chapter 5) that I might have been deemed a potential wife is made plausible if also questionable, by earlier background information. This *mere speculation* shows the theme of secrecy as both a methodological and theoretical problem. Methodologically, for example, evidence for the plausibility that I *might have* been a potential wife, came from a myriad of sources and indicates the interpretive difficulty I had for the relevant events. Ultimately my limited corroborations and alternative explanations failed to *prove* whether I was deemed a potential wife--thus indicating the power of secrecy. Furthermore, this case's clues (e.g., Adam's apparent flirtations and sermons, his wives' apparent concerns about me, etc.) indicate the theoretical issue of secrecy's salience for and within the group. Thus despite this case's speculative status (in contrast to more solid, corroborated findings) it raises important issues. For example, this case contradistinguishes the monogamous and polygamous frames of reference--showing, for example, that the latter does not preclude additional wives. Thus Adam might have been courting several women at the same time during the Sunday afternoon at his house (see "My and Christine's First Sunday..." in Chapter 4).

Through my writing--by which each additional chapter built on the previous ones--I grew more attentive to the secrecy focus. This focus, however, seemed unfocused and all-encompassing. Dr. Gillespie seemed inspired by the metaphor, "pearls before swine" that emerged in my conversation with Derek and Ivan (chapter 5). I liked the metaphor, too, and knew its intuitive and Biblical significance. I derived a simple table with categories for "pearls" (i.e., secrets) and "swine" (i.e., threats). I realized upon examining Thummim's secrecy patterns that members' salient secrets pertained to their sexuality system. I was struck by members' perception--and leaders' cultivation--of threat to this sexuality system. As I analyzed the data more closely I realized that such threats and attendant secrets were not merely external but internal--a theoretical issue that requires further development, especially in regards to power and social control. Indeed, my data indicate that power pervades Thummim. One table that I created (see Appendix C) indicates many concrete methods of veiling (i.e., concealing-and-selectively-revealing) that I discovered in Thummim. As I think about Thummim's secrecy (in terms of this table and the previously discussed analysis) I recognize the simultaneous hiddenness and salience of power--that power seems to parallel sexuality in its veiledness. In further research I would like to develop the interrelated themes of secrecy and power--and sexuality insofar as it illuminates these themes. The nature of discovery in this study has not permitted me adequate opportunity to develop these themes, nor to examine comprehensively the secrecy literature.

II. Methodological "Pearls Before Swine"

Fieldwork Deception

This section concludes with a discussion of methodological insights derived from the theoretical ideas presented in the thesis. Researchers themselves conceal and selectively reveal the "pearls" of their studies before the "swine" whom they study--and before those who read their studies. (A superb example is Humphreys (1970: 170) who claims to have been a *"sociological"* and *not a "sexual voyeur"* in his participant observation study of impersonal homosexual encounters. See also Warren, 1988: 31 for a discussion of researcher's secret-keeping as pertaining to sex.) "Pearls before swine" is thus a fitting metaphor for research.

Researchers' frequently unacknowledged but inevitable distrust of those whom they study renders fieldwork deception certain--even desirable (Punch, 1986: 33, 43; Mitchell, 1993). I intentionally misinterpreted, for

example, Adam's precondition of my "personal interest" in a way that would further the goals of my own "religion" as member Derek had termed my research. (But then I contradictorily asserted my research role so that I sent similarly mixed messages as Adam.) Fieldworkers--whether "covert" or "overt"--withhold their precise purpose from those whom they study, and like Thummim leaders they cultivate secrecy in order to gain the control that their system of relevances mandates (e.g., Humphreys, 1970; Festinger, 1956; see Mitchell, 1993: 2-3 for examples). I responded, for example, to questions about my research with the same vagueness that members did when they talked about sensitive issues. Just as Eve asked why I chose "this topic" (i.e., The Work), or said that "some people believe differently," so I told her life was "different" in Thummim, thus veiling my findings.

Fieldwork Control

In addition to my veiled talk, my underground apostate connections also facilitated my "control over my fieldwork"--which translates into control over those studied. Just as Adam's system of relevances mandated his control over everyone including me, so mine mandated similar control--in order to have access. Indeed, Ivan lamented members' loss of control over my ex-member contacts, and I, over members obstructing of my access. When talking to Derek and Ivan I implicitly enticed them with my research ("maybe you will get more converts") (see "Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5). Implicitly I instructed them how to be research subjects (i.e., by asking them why they would not let me in) and religious devotees ("[by you letting me look at your lives, you allow me to] see how real it is"), just as Adam had instructed me how to be a sociologist ("partake in the rituals," *"be* in order to understand"). Both sets of instructions facilitated our respective goals to control the other in order to conduct research or encourage conversion-and-plural-marriage. Indeed, the very reason I flirted with the conversion idea ("what do I have to do to show you I'm converted?") was to elicit an informative response.

Fieldwork Distrust

Many studies have been constructed on the thin veneer of trust (see Garfinkel). But once ruptured--as it was in this case (for both parties)--it makes us question our very observations and conclusions. Distrust is the very reason for doing research rather than converting (although some have maintained enough distrust to have done both at the same time). Distrust may remain subterranean and workable--or it may pronounce itself as a clash of conflicting systems of relevance as it did in the current study. As long as both

parties do not accept the same system of relevance (i.e., the same "goal" in Derek's words--"Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5), some degree of distrust will pervade their relationship, affecting the data collected and not collected. Indeed, the community's closing up with me was a response to the evidence I had shown that I would not convert. Members had been concealing and selectively revealing and observing my responses--just as I was doing to them--but I had not demonstrated by my "works" that I believed. Only "works," not mere faith or academic acceptance, would suffice--as the conversation with Derek and Ivan clearly indicates. Mitchell (1993: 44), who studied survivalists, experienced similar problems. He reports that one survivalist confronted him and said:

> How do we know we can trust you to help us? ... When you write up your book are you going to tell about survivalism like you think it is, or are you going to tell people how we see it?.... We don't show all this [survival technique] to people who don't care...

Not caring is metaphorically to "trample" the other's "pearls"--in other words, to rupture trust.

Fieldwork "War"

Encapsulating the themes of deception, control, and distrust is the metaphor of "war" that sometimes emerged to describe my involvement in Thummim. Indeed, member Mary asked about my "plan of attack" and Ivan and Derek alluded to the spiritual war of the devil versus God (i.e., "you're going with the devil"). War-time strategies of espionage, camouflage, and trickery were crucial strategies for both sides (e.g, as when I said I was not going to school and then went). Both members and I "spied" in order to gain control over each other, thus maintaining fidelity to our respective systems of relevance while violating the other's. Indeed, my running from "Napoleons" to "Nelson's camp"--my apparent desire to "serve two Masters," proved to Ivan and Derek, my low commitment and heightened their distrust (See "Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5).

Mitchell (1993: 46) contrasts researchers to spies, whom, he claims, are "ideologically proactive" and assume "moral[] superior[ity]" to their subjects. But the proactive ideologies of informants inevitably would influence the assessments of Mitchell's "ideologically naive" (and implicitly morally superior) researcher, just as ex-members provided me interpretive frameworks for my difficult-to-interpret observations and therefore influenced my conclusions. Furthermore, the group studied might have their

own views about the researcher-spy's sources--just as researchers have views about member espionage. From each vantage point the other's spying seems immoral, a way to promote an alien ideology. Indeed, this study might have been radically different if I would have avoided ex-members altogether. "Spying," however, facilitated a deeper understanding, just as members' spying on me my facilitated their deeper understanding of me.

Fieldwork Absorption into the Central Myth of Others

The central myth of those studied comprises the meanings in which the newcomer, i.e., researcher, will be categorized. But as a neophyte in the lifeworld of those studied, the ignorant researcher inadvertently might convey messages of which she is unaware--e.g., possibly in my case by asking to live with Adam's family ("Explanation: Suspicion..." in Chapter 5). Given the all-encompassing lifeworlds of those studied, it is ironic that an ethics committee decried a grad student who "let" a sect define him as a potential convert (Mitchell. 1993: 26). Indeed, despite my assertions of my researcher role (e.g., Horowitz, 1986), I consistently was categorized in terms that ultimately related to members' central myth--their sexuality system. Thus in their view I possibly was a media person who would expose secrets about marriage, a metaphorical "harlot," and/or a woman who is not virtuous and who does not love her husband, or submit to her husband or father, etc. More importantly, however, members' central myth demanded not only outward but subjective conformity (Peshkin, 1985: 276). (I would do in my heart what I think I should, as Ivan and Derek suggested, and I would "want to" drop my research if I converted--"Attending the Secondary School," Chapter 5.) In this and other cases, therefore, members' central myth rendered the researcher role incommensurate with the participant role. The disjuncture between the two meaning systems (of the researcher and those researched) made it impossible to share one's "pearls" in the metaphorical sense used here. Recognition, instead, of this disjuncture exacerbated both sides' deception, attempts for control, distrust of the other, and underlying "war" of central meanings.

APPENDIX C: TABLE 1

Concrete Methods of Secrecy Discovered in Thummim

STRATEGICALLY VEILED COMMUNICATION

VERBAL	NONVERBAL
Total Veiling Concealment	
Active silence (aggressive). Silence even when talked to (reveals nothing but desire to keep secrets); shunning, usually towards a deviant, and accompanied with blank stares.	Active avoidance, e.g., physical avoidance, averting eyes, stoic facial expression, aloofness, etc. attempts to control regions, physical space. Physical blocking or sperate spheres: close down school or church without informing individuals; on phone-- indicate that Adam is busy and you don't know when he'll be in, etc. Secret marriage practices-- e.g., marry people without others' knowledge
Passive silence or talk if talked to (reveals minimal information), e.g., curt responses to questions.	Passive ignoring, e.g., tolerance but no acknowledgement, initiations, introductions, or invitations.
Evade via "talk but don't talk" communication (reveals nonvital information). Diverts attention from certain issues, avoids the issues that the speaker wants concealed, e.g., Mary talked about her last but not her current marriage	Evade via "action but no action," e.g., keep the person "busy" with projects; keep her somewhere where there's less access to secrets; divert attention through activity; e.g., Karen's mother was kept busy and away from Karen's wedding; e.g., I was kept busy in the elementary school
Unintelligible talk (incomprehensible due to quietness, mumbling, or rambling) e.g., parts of	Unclear nonverbal messages

Adam's sermons; Claire's response after I asked about the children suddenly going home from school.

The Veil as Disguise: Misrepresentation

Denial

Fabrication or exaggeration. Communicates another reality while concealing another. E.g., denial of plural and placement marriage; lies about wives' ages; denial that the community is secretive; denial of abuses, numerous denials about the importance of sex. Usually explicit statements.
May use total veiling strategies plus performance

Performance to convey a different reality, e.g., use the nonverbal setting, bodies, objects to show a denial or fabrication, to perform in a way that an exaggerated or untrue image is projected. E.g., Ivan's biology book with nothing torn out; first day in church--only 1 woman per man; performances of harmony amongst enemies; ducking of kids on bus to indicate empty bus; members pretending there was no bazaar. Symbols may be used but usually overt methods are used to fabricate.

Partial Veiling Conveying Messages Implicitly

Metaphor e.g., "harlot," "media," "seeking a sign," "hunting class," "Napoleon's camp," "(we don't act like) one man," "don't cast your pearls before swine," "calves in the stall."

Allegory (parallel story), e.g., sermons about Joseph Smith and his wives, about the pharaoh seeking a sign, etc.

Verbal cues ("hint dropping")
e.g., Claire asked if I knew Nancy; e.g., Rhonda asked if I was going home; Rhonda talked about a "drunk" friend; Adam said he has a "healthy dislike" for apostates. Abraham said, "I've never been drunk in my life."

Talking around an issue, using different words or vague generalities, e.g., "fiddling," "feeling fat... September," "bedroom scenes," "this topic." E.g., different terms for the same thing--about plural marriage (Law of Abraham, Patriarchal Marriage, etc.), The Work (FLDS, UEP, etc.), Colorado City (Short Creek). E.g., Eve said some people believe differently--but to make explicit her stand about Thor would render her disloyal. E.g., Ivan said, "information travels two ways" but didn't explain what he meant, nor his sources.

Decontextualizing target of verbal message from other messages, e.g., if target= wives, the context =discussion about J Smith and wives; if target= me, then context=media, etc.; if target=me as virtuous

(after getting kicked out
of Priesthood meeting),
then context="lust"

Unveiling
Conveying Messages
Explicitly

Explicit statements--sometimes about secrecy rules, thus delineating boundaries. Secrecy is made explicit through clear messages often citing Adam. e.g., "Adam said not to talk about that," or Mary's statement that I could go to church if Adam said it's okay. "Control your feelings." "Mind your own business." Name names. e.g., statements forbidding contact with certain individuals.

But sometimes the speaker veils the rules by pretending the message was of his own free agency, e.g., Ivan said that "we don't act like one man," just as Adam had also said.

clear nonverbal messages, often about secrecy. Clear because they occur with other cues or explicit statements. e.g., doors closed, physical layout, blocked access, dress, stoic appearance. The leaders frequently direct these features of the setting and sometimes this direction is clear--e.g., when all the staff went into the staff room and Adam closed the door; e.g., when boy stuck out his tongue; active avoidance is sometimes under this category. Adam's emotions are unveiled.